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INSIDE EIGHT PAGES FROM SUNDAY'S **The New York Times** WEEKLY REVIEW

Northern settlements demand NIS 2.3b



Prime Minister Shimon Peres is escorted by US Army Col. David Hantoon as he inspects troops at the Pentagon yesterday. (AP)

US, Israel sign missile defense pact

HILLEL KUTTLER WASHINGTON

PRIME Minister Shimon Peres and US Secretary of Defense William Perry yesterday signed an agreement providing Israel with immediate assistance for defense against Katyushas and extensive cooperation in long-term laser missile defense.

The US will provide Israel with intelligence "in a manner of seconds on a ballistic missile launch," Perry said.

The two agreed to jointly develop a prototype of the Nautilus anti-missile laser system defense that will be available for testing in Israel by late 1997, Perry told reporters at a Pentagon news conference following their two-hour meeting.

President Bill Clinton and Peres were scheduled to meet last night to discuss the Middle East peace process and the cease-fire in southern Lebanon, a White House spokeswoman said.

They were to speak at a meeting of the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee and were planning to meet later at the White House.

The US will send a delegation of specialists to Israel next week to inaugurate the program, to investigate interim means of defending the Galilee against Katyushas, and to explore additional areas of security cooperation, Perry said.

The working group will be led by Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Walter Slocum and Defense Ministry Director-General David Ivry, Pentagon spokesman Kenneth Bacon said.

In outlining the contents of the agreement, Peres said, "The important thing is the interim anti-Katyusha weapons [system]."

Perry said the two also discussed further cooperation in anti-terrorism efforts.

Within the next three-and-a-half weeks, the working group will have decided precisely how Isra-

el's satellite access will work, Ivry told Israeli reporters last night.

Among the temporary options being considered is a close-in system, known as Phalanx, currently mounted on American warships to shoot down incoming missiles, Bacon said. The system is shorter-range than the Nautilus and "is not the perfect weapon to deal with these problems," he said.

If such a system is settled on, it would be operated by Israel, Bacon added.

The administration intends to commit to spending \$50 million for Nautilus development over the next three fiscal years, with Israel contributing \$20 million, Bacon said.

The first Nautilus test was conducted earlier this year in New Mexico.

Bacon said work on Nautilus deployment may proceed simultaneously with the development phase, but this is not certain. The Pentagon will soon approach Congress for funding, he added.

The developments, as well as Secretary of State Warren Christopher's brokering of the cease-fire arrangement last week, are "opening a new road on the way to peace" and are an effort to "stop the attempt to stop it," Peres said.

He also said that the arrangement paves the way for resuming negotiations with Syria.

Peres said he feels confident the truce in Lebanon will hold. "It is holding. I believe it can hold on," he said at Blair House, the government guest house across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House.

"The next step will be the renewal of negotiations with the Palestinians, opening the last and third stage of the negotiations for a permanent solution."

Perry also told reporters the US takes seriously Iran's possession of short-range ballistic missiles that "already pose a threat" to Israel, and believes Iran is trying to develop long-range ballistic missiles.

12,000 return to Kiryat Shmona

DAVID RUDGE and Itim

BY yesterday afternoon an estimated 12,000 residents had returned to Kiryat Shmona, following the cease-fire agreement reached on Friday. Many of them took advantage of free bus transportation provided by Egged, which accepted ID cards with Kiryat Shmona home addresses in lieu of tickets.

Repair work began yesterday on homes and public buildings in Kiryat Shmona and other front line towns and villages hit by Katyusha rockets.

Most of the schools and kindergartens damaged by Katyusha fire have been repaired enough to open today, except for one day-care center that took a direct hit.

Deputy Education Minister Micha Goldman met with town officials yesterday and heard a review of preparations for the resumption of classes, including extra psychologists and special programs dealing with the fighting. The first two hours of classes today are to be devoted to a discussion of Operation Grapes of Wrath.

It was decided to provide special tutoring for high school pupils who must take matriculation exams next month.

Teachers have been given special instruction on the early detection of pupils' emotional problems, especially anxiety and the

inability to concentrate, due to the fighting.

On a tangible level, the city council decided to spruce up Kiryat Shmona with a clean-up and gardening campaign.

"We'll do everything we can in the next few weeks to erase every sign of the war," said Mayor Prosper Azran.

"We'll decorate the town with flowers and flags and concern ourselves with the quality of life."

In another sign of a return to normalcy, the forward emergency room operated in Kiryat Shmona during the fighting by Rebecca Steif Hospital of Safed was closed yesterday and the building handed back to Magen David Adom.

Likud, Shas close to surplus vote pact

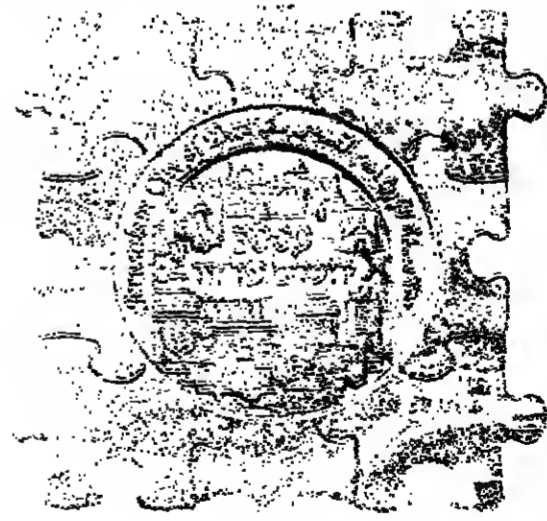
LIKUD leader Binyamin Netanyahu and Shas leader Aryeh Deri are working out a surplus vote agreement, Likud and Shas sources confirmed last night.

According to Likud sources, the signing of the agreement could lead to a Shas endorsement of Netanyahu for prime minister.

If the deal goes through, it would be the first time a religious party signs a surplus vote agreement with a secular one.

In 1992, Shas signed a surplus vote deal with United Torah Judaism, which decided this time to sign an agreement with the National Religious Party, fearing that a deal with Shas would lead to their votes going to the left-wing camp.

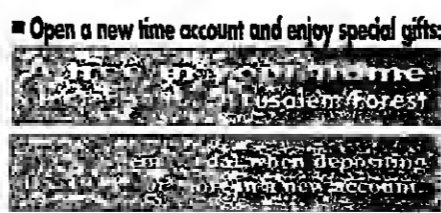
JERUSALEM'S 3000 YEARS ISRAEL'S ECONOMY IS ON THE MOVE



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ISRAEL DISCOUNT BANK

Police, taxmen break up sports betting ring

RAINE MARCUS

IN a massive joint operation among the police, the Customs and VAT Authority, and tax investigators, 18 persons suspected of organizing a sophisticated sports betting operation were arrested early yesterday.

Police and tax authorities said the organization made millions monthly in a method adopted from the US, whereby sportsmen would take money for fixing games, thus custom making the odds for the gamblers.

Sportsmen, including soccer and basketball players and trainers, are to be summoned by police probing whether they were involved in fixing games.

Four alleged gang leaders were remanded for four days by Petah Tikva Magistrate's Court yesterday; the others were released on bail.

The investigation, which started several months ago, was helped by an informant, compulsive gambler Yitzhak Hagoel, who was paid a substantial sum by the authorities.

Police, VAT, and income tax investigators confiscated large sums of money in cash and checks, 17 computers, 150 computer discs, lists, and notebooks from the homes of those arrested.

Supt. Ezra Mevurach, of the National Crimes Squad, told the court that Aharon Davidian, of Bat Yam, was the head of the gambling ring. Police seized computers and discs, notebooks, a bank deposit slip for NIS 100,000, and a large sum of unexplained money at his home.

Davidian refused to cooperate with police. Judge Nira Daskin remanded him for four days.

Also remanded for four days was former Betar Jerusalem footballer Shlomo Shirazi. Police found documents and a large sum of money at his home. Three transactions allegedly proving Shirazi's involvement were taped

and filmed by Hagoel.

Yitzhak Segal, the gang's alleged banker, was also remanded for four days. He is suspected of coordinating and organizing illegal gambling operations on sports games here and abroad since 1990. Police also said he helped fix football and basketball games, and smuggled money abroad.

Yosef Suzin was also remanded. The gang's alleged debt collector, Yosef Dvash, was released on bail.

All the suspects allegedly evaded income tax and VAT payments.

Investigations chief Cmdr. Yossi Levy said the gang's monthly turnover was NIS 2 million-NIS 3 million, and that many others, including gamblers and athletes, will be questioned when the authorities wade through the computer discs, documents, and bank account details.

Right now, said National Crime Squad (Continued on Page 2)

Hassan: Peace process in danger if Peres loses

PARIS (Reuter) - King Hassan II of Morocco has given implicit backing to Prime Minister Shimon Peres, saying the Middle East peace process would be in jeopardy if he lost next month's election.

"The risk of a majority changeover [in Israel] does not bode well for the peace process - and this is an understatement," Hassan told *Le Figaro* in an interview released yesterday.

Peres visited Rabat last December, a year after Morocco and Israel established low-

level diplomatic ties.

Hassan, interviewed before Friday's accord for a cease-fire in south Lebanon, also said he believed President Jacques Chirac could regain a role for France in the Middle East.

"He is moving. I think he has strong Arab contacts. I believe his action can be positive ... He has a sense for moderation," he said, calling Chirac "a friend of 20 years."

Hassan, who has long played a behind-the-

scenes role in Middle East peace efforts, said both Jews and Moslems must ask God to save the peace process.

"We must pray ... to prevent a disaster," he said.

He said a new Arab-Israeli war would have long-lasting consequences as it could involve chemical weapons on one side and nuclear weapons on the other.

He also said he had advised Palestinians and Israelis to leave the issue of Jerusalem for the very last stage of negotiations.

Gunman kills at least 33 at Australia tourist site

News agencies

PORT ARTHUR, Australia - A mentally ill gunman killed 33 people in Australia's worst shooting rampage yesterday and was holding hostages, demanding a helicopter to leave the scene in the island state of Tasmania.

The 29-year-old gunman, holed up in a small guest house after picking off his victims with a high-powered rifle at a nearby tourist attraction, made the demand as police negotiated with him to release the hostages and surrender.

Thirty Australians, two Canadians, and one victim whose nationality was not immediately

known died at the hands of the gunman, whose identity is known, police said. Several children and a baby were reported dead.

The slaughter in southeast Tasmania was the worst shooting massacre in Australia this century.

"Various massacres would pale into insignificance when you look at what has happened in Tasmania," Tasmanian Police Commissioner John Johnson said.

Some 200 police officers surrounded the bed-and-breakfast cottage in southeast Tasmania in which police believed the gunman held three people.

He fired sporadically upon authorities trying to negotiate with him, Johnson said.

Eighteen people were seriously wounded, police said. Ten of

them were in satisfactory condition; four were serious; and four critical.

Some 500 Australian and foreign tourists were at the site some 50 kilometers southeast of Hobart.

Wendy Scurr, who was working at the front desk of the Port Arthur historic site, said she phoned for help and then "ran for my life along with hundreds of other people at the site."

"He wasn't going bang-bang-bang. It was 'bang,' and then he'd pick someone else out and line them up and shoot them," witness Phillip Milburn told Australian Broadcasting Corp. radio.

Police coordinating telephone negotiations with the gunman said early on Monday that the Hobart man had a history of

mental illness and seemed incoherent.

"He has been undertaking medical treatment for some problems that he has had," Tasmanian assistant police commissioner Luppino Prinz told Reuters, saying members of the gunman's family were helping police with their negotiations.

Prinz said it was possible that a personal dispute had sparked off the shooting spree, but police had been unable to make much sense of comments by the gunman, who they said had made no mention of the shooting.

The man advanced on two tourist buses, killing several tourists in each one and one driver. He then fired on cars approaching the gates to the site.

Port Arthur was the historic landing site of some of the toughest convicts England sent into Australian exile in the 1800s.



NEWSLINE
DR. BERNIE STEIN

Stein is the Education Ministry's chief psychologist
How has the ministry prepared for the return of Kiryat Shmona pupils to school?

Firstly, you must remember that this is the longest period Kiryat Shmona residents were forced to stay in shelters. During the two weeks, local psychologists were on call, traveling from shelter to shelter, helping children and parents whenever necessary.

The ministry has also boosted psychological services in the North and has given the services an open hand in dealing with problems. There is an open budget. We have also added two full-time workers to set up a family treatment clinic that will give psychologists more time to evaluate and treat the people.

Do you expect any rivalry between children who left and those who stayed behind?

Teachers will have to navigate between the pupils and make it very clear to the kids that the decision to evacuate wasn't theirs. You can't predict how people will react. During the whole operation, there was uncertainty as to how long it would last. In the beginning, people were told it would be a matter of days and yet it turned into weeks.

How long do you think it will take for pupils to "return to normal"?

It will take time. Some children who were evacuated will related their different experiences, others will be glad to return home to their friends and familiar surroundings. Others will return to find their homes damaged and their belongings destroyed. Children are pretty resilient, but these kids are remarkable considering all they have gone through.

Margot Dukkevitch

Report: Hizbullah men stopped in South America

SOUTH American police recently apprehended at the Paraguay-Argentina border Hizbullah terrorists on their way to attack a Jewish institution, Army Radio reported yesterday. The attack was planned in response to the IDF operation in Lebanon, the radio said.

Jerusalem Post Staff



Teachers decorate a Kiryat Shmona classroom in preparation for today's return of pupils.

(Aviva Shapiro/Jerusalem Post)

Shahak: North is out of 'circle of violence'

BATSHEVA TSUR and Nim

CHIEF of General Staff Lt-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak told a meeting of confrontation line council heads yesterday that residents of the North could now feel themselves outside the circle of violence, following the understandings that ended Operation Grapes of Wrath.

Shahak told the Nahariya gathering that while there are differences between the agreements that ended Grapes of Wrath and its predecessor, Operation Accountability, this is not the main thing.

"The most important thing is not to find the differences between the various past agreements, but to examine the reality and ascertain whether these agreements or understandings provide a basis for a situation in which it will be possible to keep the entire North out of the circle of fighting," Shahak said.

"Whoever reads the understandings ... and comprehends what has been said clearly to the other side, can understand that the residents of the North can feel themselves out of the circle of fighting, if the understandings are fully upheld."

President Bill Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher for their "great efforts" in helping to achieve the cease-fire.

In an official communique, the cabinet also expressed "deep sorrow over the attack against Lebanese civilians in Kana as the result of accidental Israeli shelling." However, it underscored the responsibility of Hizbullah and the Lebanese government for "the circumstances which brought about the incident."

OC Northern Command Maj-Gen. Amiram Levine was among those who visited Kiryat Shmona yesterday. He told reporters the IDF and South Lebanese Army have the right to defend themselves in future attacks by Hizbullah in the security zone.

"Clear instructions have been given to every IDF and SLA soldier that they have the right and obligation to defend themselves. If they come under fire they can return fire to wherever it originates," said Levine.

He said this would apply even if gunmen fire from inside or close to villages north of the zone.

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AMERICAN OUTLOOK

The American Outlook section, which should have appeared in yesterday's paper, will appear tomorrow.

Lubrani: Applying accord will be real test

DAVID RUDGE

THE US-brokered agreements reached to end Operation Grapes of Wrath are better than the 1993 understandings, but the real test will be in the way they are implemented, Uri Lubrani, the government's coordinator on Lebanon, said yesterday.

He stressed that the accords are not a peace agreement, although they could prove a springboard for future negotiations with Lebanon and Syria.

"These understandings are much more elaborate, firm, and clear than the ones of 1993. They are better understandings and cover the security not only of civilians in northern Israel, but also those in the security zone and those north of the zone," said Lubrani.

"One of the most important, unwritten but positive aspects of these understandings is that you have a legitimate Lebanese government involved and committed to them - hopefully to the extent that it will be able to fulfill its commitments to the assiduous implementation of these understandings."

"The proof of the pudding, however, is in the eating. We obviously hope that all of the parties will live up to their commitments, but only time will tell."

"Hizbullah is not a party to these understandings, officially. Nevertheless, all those who want the situation contained and the hostilities minimized know that Hizbullah will have to be curbed."

Lubrani hoped that, if implemented satisfactorily, the new understandings could be used as a launch pad for future negotiations, perhaps on the lines of "Lebanon First."

"All of us know that the only real and lasting solution to the problems in the north is within the realm of political understandings," he said.

"Personally, I would like to see a 'Lebanon First' agreement, although I'm not sure this is likely to be practical. I don't, for the time, see the possibility of reaching an agreement with Lebanon without at least very meaningful progress with the Syrians."

Lubrani and OC Northern Command Maj-Gen. Amiram Levine met yesterday with SLA commander Gen. Antoine Lahad and senior officers to brief them on the accords.

With deep sorrow we announce the passing of our mother and mother-in-law
MINA GIVTON
widow of Hanoch Givton
For information about the funeral please call (03) 7516407.
Netta and Itamar Givton

We sadly announce the passing of our beloved mother and grandmother
LOTTE BARGEBUHR
The funeral will take place today, Monday, April 29, 1996 (Iyar 10, 5756), at 4:30 p.m. at the Ness Ziona Cemetery.
Her daughters and sons-in-law
Esther and Ovadia Rabi Ness Ziona
Kate and Nachum Kedar Beersheba
grandchildren and great-grandchildren

Bar-Ilan University mourns the passing of
ARMIN KRAUSZ
Honorary Fellow of the university and a longtime executive member of the British Friends of Bar-Ilan
Our deepest condolences to Mr. Neville Krausz, Mrs. Sylvia Fishman, and his nephew, Prof. Ernest Krausz, a former rector of Bar-Ilan University.

TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY
The Lester and Sally Entin Faculty of Humanities
We would like to express our condolences to our colleague and friend, Mrs. Bella Rublin on the passing of her Mother

Our beloved aunt
ELEONORA BORCHOV
left us on April 25, 1996.
She bequeathed her body to science.
Georges Baum and Family

In deep sorrow we mourn the passing of our beloved mother
FRIEDA RUMELT
on April 26, 1996
Daughter: Bella Rosenberg
Sons: Aharon and Shlomo Hamiel and families
Sisters: Anne Ehrmann and Renee Forgan and their families in New York

Kiryat Shmona begins cleaning up the mess

DAVID RUDGE

MAZAL Eliahu returned to her home in Kiryat Shmona on Saturday - and broke down in tears.

She came alone, hitchhiking from Tel Aviv, because her husband Yair is observant and waited until the end of Shabbat.

Eliahu, 30, took one look at the home she and her husband had built and cried. She cried because their home was the last one to be hit in the Katyusha attacks just a few minutes before the cease-fire deadline.

She cried because the bathroom and the kitchen were totally destroyed. She cried because she was alone and because this would be the only time she could do so before Yair and their three children - six, four and three - returned.

"I had to be strong for the children, but it's very hard," said

Eliahu after spending the day trying to clear up the mess in their home.

She also cried because their lives had been spared simply because they were several hundred kilometers away from their home when the Katyusha hit.

"We came back to our home last Thursday, just to see how everything was and to water the plants. I wanted to stay, but my husband said that for the children's sake we should leave again. He was right."

"I came back to find a home we can't even live in. But walls can be rebuilt and so can kitchens and bathrooms. I'm afraid that if we had stayed here, we wouldn't have any children - or children the same as they are now."

"I hope that this was the last

Katyusha ever to fall on Kiryat Shmona, but my mind won't let my heart believe that, unfortunately," she added.

Haim Azulai, 61, was among those who remained in Kiryat Shmona throughout Operation Grapes of Wrath and the Katyusha attacks that preceded it.

"I grew up here and I'm not afraid of Katyushas. None of us left. If you are fated to die, you will die, whatever the circumstances. If not, not," he said.

"I don't think there was any reason for people to leave, but because of the young children, they were afraid and left. We stayed with all the children and we are okay, and Kiryat Shmona is alive and well."

"I came to Kiryat Shmona in 1955. I grew up here and raised my family here. This is my home and I will die here," said Azulai.

Syria says truce shows importance of Damascus

DAMASCUS (Reuter) - Syria said yesterday that the cease-fire agreement signed on Friday to end fighting between Israel and Hizbullah showed the important role Damascus plays in the region.

Damascus official radio said in a political comment that the Israeli raids - in which about 200 Lebanese were killed and hundreds of thousands displaced - achieved nothing for Israel.

"What did Israel achieve of its declared and non-declared goals?

... Everybody came to Syria seeking a way out," the commentary said.

"Events once again show ... that a just peace, which the [Arab] nation is seeking to achieve, starts and ends in Damascus," it added.

"The cease-fire in Lebanon and the agreement are really considered a big achievement and a real victory in all meanings and that was reflected on Lebanon First and the region second," the commentary added.

In deep sorrow we announce the passing of our beloved
VICTOR (Haim) CABASSO
a native of Jerusalem
The funeral took place yesterday, Sunday, April 28, 1996 (9 Iyar 5756).
Mourning by:
Wife, Judith Cabasso
Son and daughter-in-law, Israel and Youxin-Yuan Cabasso
Daughter and son-in-law, Yael Kombar-Mus and Conny Mus
Grandson, Elon Kombar
Brother and sister-in-law, Moshe and Hana Cabasso
Shiva at the Kombar-Mus home, 7 Rehov Yehuda, Baka, Jerusalem.

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Former Hadassah president Deborah Kaplan, one of the 2,000 delegates to the group's international convention, which opened in Jerusalem yesterday, chuckles at a quip by President Ezer Weizman. Weizman praised the women for the fact that, despite the situation, there were no cancellations. (Isaac Harari)

Knesset to debate Hebron withdrawal

HERB KEINON,
LIAT COLLINS, and Tim

THE Knesset is expected to meet in a special session Wednesday to discuss the results of Operation Grapes of Wrath and the possibility of the imminent IDF withdrawal from Hebron. The session was called by the National Religious Party, which garnered the 30 signatures necessary for a special session together with the Likud.

"It is our moral and public duty to warn that the withdrawal is likely to pose a first-degree security threat," said NRP leader Zevulun Hammer. Party MK Hanan Portat is demanding that no steps toward withdrawal be taken before the plenum session.

Coalition and Labor Knesset faction chairman Ra'anan Cohen was among those who sought signatures for the discussion on the agreement with Lebanon. Tomorrow a special meeting of the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee is scheduled to hear a report on the operation from Chief of Staff Lt-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak.

A general strike in Kiryat Arba and the Jewish area of Hebron is scheduled for Wednesday, as settlers plan to demonstrate in Jerusalem that day during the special Knesset session.

"In any incident in Hebron

where blood is shed, the blood will be the government's responsibility," settlers' council spokesman Noam Arnon said yesterday in response to the statement by Health Minister Ephraim Sneh on Army Radio that the IDF would redeploy in Hebron before next month's elections. Such had pointed out in the interview that Israel had agreed under the Oslo Accords to redeploy in Hebron as early as June 1994, but had been forced by circumstances to wait until now.

The withdrawal from Hebron could be made in stages, with the final one taking place after the elections, Prime Minister Shimon Peres told reporters on the way to Washington early yesterday.

Shas MK Aryeh Deri, meanwhile, said he does not see Peres's negative response to Rabbi Ovadia Yosef's recent appeal to delay the redeployment until after the elections as "the end of the story."

Deri said Shas's discussions with Peres regarding Hebron would continue after the prime minister returns from his US trip. "Maybe we can change something," he said.

Deri added that he draws his optimism from the precedent of Rachel's Tomb. The government originally had planned to cede the Bethlehem holy site to Palestinian control, but changed its mind after coming under intense pressure from the religious parties.

"I believe that with the strong efforts of all the religious parties, we can annul the civil decree, and IDF forces won't be withdrawn from Hebron at this point," Deri said.

Deri said that Yosef's appeal to Peres was not an attempt by the Shas mentor to employ his political leverage, but rather made out of concern for the safety of the 450 settlers living in Hebron.

"The letter had nothing to do with politics," Deri said. "It was sent as if he [Peres] were to respond favorably then we would vote for him, and if not, then we wouldn't vote for him. It was a halachic issue par excellence, stemming from concern for the security of the Jews in Hebron."

According to Deri, Yosef is not only interested in pushing the withdrawal from Hebron off until after the elections, but changing the redeployment, so as not to leave the Jews there in an enclave surrounded by the Palestinian Police.

Pardess Hanna man suspected of killing wife

A PARDESS Hanna man suspected of stabbing his wife to death was arrested early yesterday morning.

Police said the victim, Esperant Ben-Yair, 57, and her husband, 60, had been quarreling for the past 10 years. At about 5 yesterday morning, he apparently entered her bedroom with a knife and stabbed her several times in the chest.

She began screaming for help and the couple's 17-year-old son, the youngest of their six children, ran into the room and began hitting his father and kept him from doing further damage. The wounds, however, proved fatal.

The man, a janitor at a local school, told police he could no longer stand the constant fighting that had "degraded his life" and decided to kill his wife. He will be brought before a judge for a remand hearing tomorrow. (Itim)

Closure to continue

BATSHEVA TSUR

THE Ministerial Committee on Security decided yesterday that the closure of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza would continue, but that goods could be transferred.

At the cabinet meeting, the issue of Palestinian debts to Israel was addressed. A ministerial committee, headed by Justice Minister David Lita'i, will hear the complaints of Israeli creditors and others and will submit recommendations to the cabinet shortly.

Chief of General Staff Lt-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak was asked to look into an incident - raised by Environment Minister Yossi Sarid - in which a Palestinian woman lost her baby after soldiers at roadblocks three times prevented her from getting to a hospital. Sarid said the woman had given birth in her car and was forced to carry the baby to an eastern Jerusalem hospital where he was pronounced dead.

Ministers said this appeared to be a clear violation of rules to let urgent medical cases enter Israel.

Court dismisses petition on changing pre-poll TV ban

EVELYN GORDON

THE High Court of Justice yesterday threw out a petition against a change in the law forbidding TV stations to show pictures of candidates before the elections, saying a major constitutional issue could not be decided in 24 hours.

Until this year, the law banned candidates' pictures from appearing 30 days before the elections. In March, however, the Knesset shortened the ban to 21 days before the elections.

Israel's Media Watch then petitioned the court against this change, saying it was illegal because it had not passed with an absolute majority of 61 MKs. An absolute majority is required to pass any law which infringes on the principle of equality, and the

petition argued that this law did, because the media discriminates against opposition candidates, and therefore an absolute ban is the only way to ensure equal treatment.

Justices Aharon Barak, Dalia Dornier and Dorit Beinisch noted that the 30-day period would have started today, and therefore a decision would have to be made immediately to have any effect.

However, they said, the court cannot decide constitutional issues, such as whether a law infringes on the principle of equality, in a day. They therefore rejected the petition, saying that if the petitioners had wanted a serious hearing, the petition should have been filed a month ago.

'Davar Rishon' - 'Telegraph' out on Sunday

STARTING next Sunday, *Davar Rishon* will be published in a new format combining it with the Hebrew economic daily *Telegraph*, editor Ron Ben-Isai announced yesterday.

Ben-Isai told *Davar Rishon's* staffers that 80 percent of them would be able to continue working on the new paper. The remainder are to receive dismissal notices this week, qualifying them for severance pay.

Ben-Isai said a dispute between the investors and the employees' union focused on the number of workers allowed to be employed under personal contracts and those under the collective bargaining agreement. Workers reportedly feared a worsening of conditions, including becoming vulnerable to firing.

Union leader Ephraim Davidi said the workers have no problem with the merger, and even feel it will give the paper a boost. However, the union rejected proposals that would decrease the number of workers under collective bargaining to less than a decisive majority.

While the layout of the new journal has not yet been finalized, it is promised to be different from *Davar Rishon*. Subscribers to both papers will receive the new paper in the morning and it will be sold on the newsstands later in the day. (Itim)

Meshulam followers sneak into Ayalon Prison as Amnesty reps

RAINE MARCUS

INTERNAL Security Minister Moshe Shabal and Police Inspector-Georal Assaf Hefetz have launched an investigation into how three of Uzi Meshulam's followers posing as Amnesty International emissaries managed to "examine" his prison conditions.

It is still not known whether the three, American citizens of Yeminite origin, passed anything to Meshulam and his followers during their visit last week to Ramle's Ayalon Prison.

Senior police officers described the entry of the three into the prison as an "incredible coup."

Amnesty officials here were

also shocked yesterday and accused the Prisons Service of gross negligence in failing to check the trio's credentials.

Earlier this month, Meshulam asked Amnesty to examine his and his followers' prison conditions, a controversial issue for some time.

The Prisons Service has come under fire for giving Meshulam and his followers preferential treatment.

As a result, the service allowed reporters to visit the special non-smoking Leshem wing allocated exclusively to Meshulam and his followers to show that conditions

there are similar to the rest of the prison.

Although the wing could not be described as luxurious, Meshulam and his followers do enjoy certain privileges not usually permitted other inmates.

Meshulam has a cell to himself and was granted a special orthopedic bed and other medical appliances following endless applications to various courts.

But Meshulam and his followers constantly complained that their conditions are inhumane.

His request that Amnesty send

representatives was sent to the organization in London and was not approved, since Amnesty does not investigate felony incarcerations.

The three visitors entered the prison several times, showing their "credentials" - receipts showing they had donated NIS 25 to the organization and their American passports.

They promised to send additional documents by fax.

The Prisons Service spokesman would only say that "the issue is being examined."

Meanwhile, the civil administration and the government coordinator's office have not received word that demolition orders had been rescinded.

Peter Lerner, civil administration spokesman, said 40 homes (not 60), mostly along main roads and only in area C are in the process of being served demolition orders. These are carried out at the rate of four or five a month.

For those whose houses were demolished before Peres made his gesture to Arafat, it is just bad luck, Natshe said.

Shahak meets Fiji minister

CHIEF of General Staff Lt-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak met with Minister of Home Affairs Col. Paul Faniisu Manuel, the commander of the Fiji Army and members of the Fijian parliament yesterday to explain the IDF's version of events which led to the tragic shelling of a UNIFIL base in Kana, in which nearly 100 people were killed and over 100 injured, including three Fijian soldiers. Shahak stressed the IDF's good relations with the Fijian battalion in UNIFIL and wished a speedy recovery to the three injured soldiers, who are being treated at Haifa's Rambam Hospital. (Arieh O'Sullivan)



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Newsweek: Hillary's fingerprints on 'lost' papers

WASHINGTON (Reuter) - The fingerprints of Hillary Rodham Clinton were found on Whitewater related documents "lost" for two years, according to a report released yesterday by Newsweek.

The billing records from the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock, Ark., for which Clinton worked, were found in the White House last summer and the fingerprints were identified by FBI experts, Newsweek reported.

The magazine's story, quoting "sources close to the inquiry," was released hours before President Bill Clinton was to testify on closed circuit television in connection with the case.

The president, who is not accused of any wrongdoing, has been subpoenaed as a defense witness for James and Susan McDougal, his one-time Whitewater real estate partners, who are on trial in Arkansas on bank fraud and conspiracy charges.

It is one of several legal proceedings arising from the failure of the Madison Savings and Loan Association, which cost taxpayers an estimated \$65 million.

The Clintons entered into a partnership with the McDougals in the Whitewater real estate venture in 1978. Although their

investment lost money, questions have arisen about whether funds for the project were siphoned from the savings and loan, which was also a McDougal holding.

The papers described yesterday detailed Hillary Clinton's legal work for McDougal's Madison Thrift, and "were subpoenaed in 1994 but not turned over until this January," the magazine said.

"Mrs. Clinton has said she had 'no idea' the papers were in the White House," Newsweek continued. "Her lawyer David Kendall later said 'it is possible Mrs. Clinton was shown the records in '92 but 'she does not recall.' Kendall now says the fingerprint discovery is 'not surprising.'"

"At the least," the magazine said, "the findings show Mrs. Clinton reviewed the records in '92, undercutting her claim she couldn't recall many of the mid-'80s meetings they cover. And says one source, they could be 'critical' in building a potential obstruction of justice case against her."

The office of Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr, probing possible wrongdoing by the Clintons in the case, declined to comment on the fingerprint report, Newsweek said.

The White House had no immediate comment on the report.



The blazing passenger bus in Bhai Phera in Pakistan, after a powerful bomb stuffed into the fuel tank exploded yesterday, killing at least 40. The toll could reach 60, as many of the 26 injured are in critical condition.

Powerful bus bomb kills at least 40 in Pakistan

KATHY GANNON ISLAMABAD, PAKISTAN

THE ashes of at least 40 people killed in yesterday's savage bus bombing were laid out in a single coffin and buried in the treeless graveyard at Bhai Phera.

Thousands came from surrounding villages to mourn the dead. Relatives of the victims clung to each other. Deafening wails and heart breaking sobs interrupted the prayers for the dead.

A bomb stuffed into the gas tank had turned the bus, packed with Moslems heading home to celebrate Islam's most sacred holiday, into a fiery grave for the 40 victims, six of whom were believed to be children.

The victims were burned beyond recognition, said the police and paramedics. Police feared the death toll could eventually reach 60, because many of the

26 who were injured are in critical condition and more remains may be found in the charred shell of the 52-seat bus.

The bus, which was overcrowded with passengers preparing for Id al-Adha, exploded in the bustling market place of Bhai Phera, about 25 kilometers east of the Punjab capital of Lahore.

"There were two explosions. The first one and then a second one almost immediately, I guess when the petrol tank exploded," said Ata Dada, a paramedic, whose first-aid station was about 200 meters away from explosion.

But Dada said he was helpless. He could see the victims inside the bus, some still alive, screaming for help.

But there was no fire extinguisher nor a nearby fire department to douse the blaze.

"We couldn't do anything, but watch," said Dada, his voice trembling. "People inside were screaming. It was so horrible."

It was nearly four hours before the bodies could be removed.

"Everything was so hot. We couldn't touch anything," he said. "No one was recognizable."

Another paramedic, Mohammed Iqbal, who transported some of the wounded to hospital, said 36 people died immediately and another four died en route to the hospital.

Police did not hold out much hope for many of the survivors, who suffered serious burns.

A bomb disposal squad defused a second explosive device, said the state-run news agency, Associated Press of Pakistan.

No one has taken immediate responsibility for the explosion which politicians condemned as savage.

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto condemned the attack calling it "a heinous act [that] showed they had no respect even for the most pious day of Islam."

In a statement, Bhutto warned that her "government would not compromise with terrorists and would fight them till the last of them is brought to book."

Police had no clues about who might have been behind the bombing.

China launches assault on rampant crime

BEIJING (Reuter) - China launched a national campaign against serious crime yesterday, sending squads of police into the streets to crack down on rampant drug dealing, prostitution, slavery and theft.

The campaign, a revival of Beijing's ongoing "strike hard" war on crime, was hailed by the official Xinhua news agency as a major move prompted by public concern at deteriorating social order.

"Criminal gangs which engage in drug-trafficking, prostitution, and the abduction and selling of children and women are rampant in some regions," Xinhua quoted the Ministry of Public Security as saying.

The national crackdown was aimed at solving major cases including the recapturing of escaped prisoners and breaking up criminal gangs, Xinhua said.

It was heralded by a speech by president of the Supreme People's Court Ren Jianxin, who called for new tough action to deal with a rising tide of criminal activity.

"In some places criminal activities seriously endangering social public order are rampant this year," Ren told a Ministry of Public Security work meeting in a speech released by Xinhua.

Serious crimes involving mafia-style groups, hoodlums, pornography, activities, murder and armed crime were increasing, Ren said.

Prostitution, drug-peddling and substance abuse continued to spread, he said.

China has been racked recently by a series of high-profile violent crimes, including the February murder of Li Peiyao, a vice-chairman of the standing committee of the National People's Congress, or parliament.

Li was murdered in his Beijing home by one of the building's guards, a 19-year-old member of the People's Armed Police.

Moslems blocked from visiting Bosnia homes

MILIN BIRT, Bosnia (Reuter) - About 600 Bosnian Moslem refugees tried to visit homes in the Serb-held northwest Bosnia town of Prijedor yesterday but had to turn back when Serbs failed to guarantee their security.

Some of the refugees had come from Germany to see the graves of their loved ones as well as their homes on a day when thousands of moslems tested post-war freedom of movement across the country, witnesses said.

The failure of the refugees to reach Prijedor was another setback to implementing key civilian

aspects of the Dayton peace accord, which halted the 43-month Bosnian war last December.

Prijedor became notorious for an "ethnic cleansing" campaign that killed or expelled thousands of non-Serbs in 1992 and 1993.

The 600 Moslems in buses and cars turned up at a NATO checkpoint on the so-called "inter-entity boundary line" north of Sanski Most.

The group, which stopped at the Milin Birt checkpoint just outside Serb territory, said they had asked the Serbs for security guarantees, but these had not been provided.

Diana on probation after royal divorce

LONDON (Reuter) - Princess Diana will serve a period of probation and not be given any royal duties after her divorce from Prince Charles, a British newspaper said yesterday.

The Sunday Telegraph said Queen Elizabeth issued the order to curtail Diana's royal duties because she was displeased with her behavior during the divorce negotiations. Senior British ministers will re-examine her position in time.

"The queen has been dismayed

by the acrimonious progress of the divorce negotiations, and was unhappy when the princess issued a statement confirming that a divorce and new title had been agreed," the Sunday Telegraph said.

"She hopes that after the divorce the princess will conduct herself with dignity."

The Telegraph gave no source for its information, and no one from the royal household was immediately available to comment.

Poll: Zyuganov still leads but might lose

MOSCOW (AP) - A new poll released yesterday indicated that Communist Party head Gennady Zyuganov kept his lead in Russia's presidential vote, but might lose to President Boris Yeltsin in the second round of voting.

The poll was conducted over the last week by the respected VIZIOM service. It had a statistical margin of error of 3.8 percentage points.

Of those questioned, 75 percent said they intended to vote in the

June 16 presidential elections.

Of those actually planning to vote, 2 percent said they supported Mikhail Gorbachev, the former Soviet president and 4 percent planned to vote for Svyatoslav Pyodotov, a famous eye surgeon.

Eight percent said they will vote for hard-line lawmaker and retired Gen. Alexander Lebed; 9 percent for ultranationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy; and 11 percent for reformist economist Grigory Yavlinsky.

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Police end probe of Kidder's odyssey

LOS ANGELES (Reuter) - Police closed their investigation of Superman actress Margot Kidder, concluding the actress was not the victim of a crime after she had been found dirty and cowering in a suburban backyard.

The actress refused to talk to police about the bizarre incident, which a friend said was sparked by her fear that at age 47 she was an aging Hollywood has-been.

O.J. to give TV interview in Britain

LONDON (AP) - O.J. Simpson is coming to Britain where he will give an interview on a new TV show and address students at the prestigious Oxford Union debating society, his British publicist confirmed yesterday.

Simpson, acquitted last October in the murders of his former wife Nicole Brown Simpson and Ronald Goldman, is traveling as a guest of Granada TV, makers of the Tonight show, publicist Max Clifford told BBC radio.

Granada TV confirmed yesterday that Simpson has been booked for the first edition of Tonight on May 13. Hosted by popular daytime talk show hosts Richard Madeley and Judy Finnigan, it will go out on Independent Television.

Tonight editor Mark Gorton denied a report in The Sunday Mirror tabloid that Simpson has negotiated a

£50,000 (\$75,000) package, including £5,000 (\$7,500) for expenses.

He will receive "a nominal fee of £1 [\$150]" for his TV appearance, said Gorton. And, "as is standard practice with any high profile guest, we have agreed to fund the cost of travel and accommodation for Mr. Simpson and his colleagues," he said.

"We cannot expect O.J. to fly to Britain alone. He is a legitimate and intriguing interviewee," Gorton said. He refused to give figures.

Clifford said Simpson is undaunted at the prospect of addressing students at Oxford University, training ground of prime ministers and presidents, on May 14. As is traditional, he will take questions after his speech.

"O.J. is happy, looking forward to speaking to the students," he told BBC radio.

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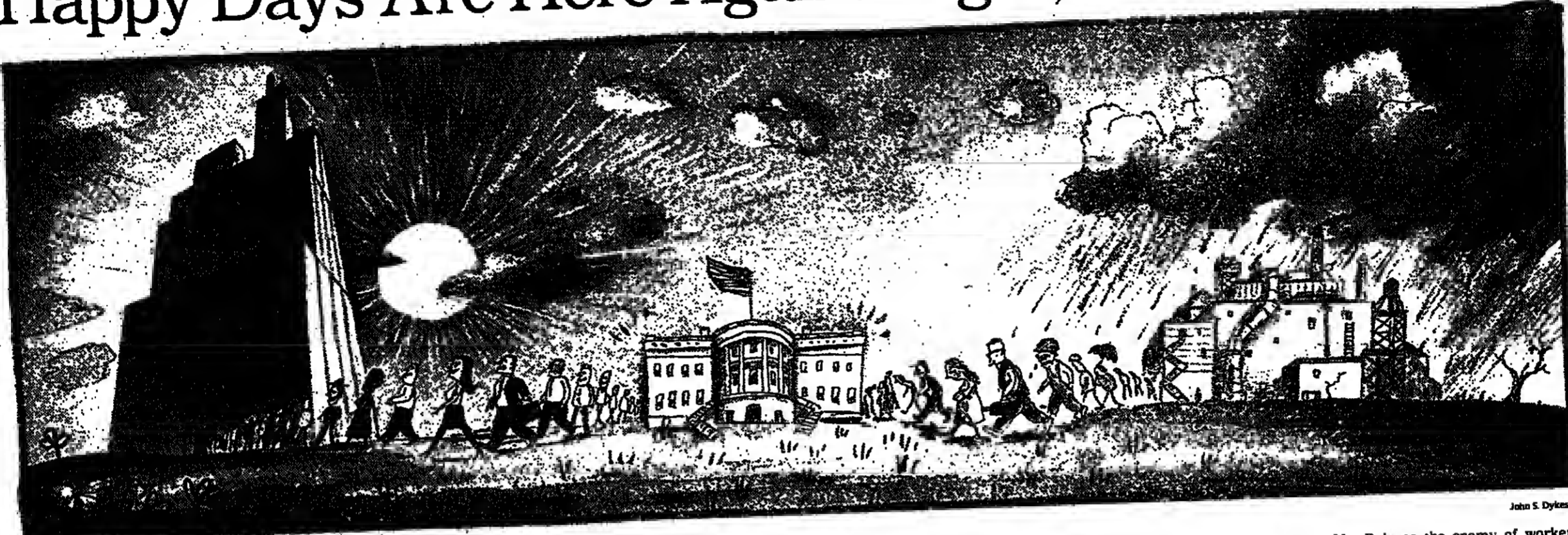
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Credit Check

Happy Days Are Here Again! Right, Voters?



By DAVID E. SANGER

BILL CLINTON wrote the book on how to run against the economy in 1992, when the country was in a recessionary funk and the now-famous "It's the Economy, Stupid" sign hung in his campaign headquarters. Four years later, he is discovering that it is far harder to take credit for an essentially well-paved economy — 8.5 million jobs created, exports surging — that is cratered by one large pothole: the much-documented if inchoate anxiety that jobs are less secure than ever and that wages are going nowhere, unless you're in the loftiest executive suite. After months of internal hickering, the Administra-

tion is finally rolling out its economic theme song for Campaign '96: Look at what a great job we've done! The refrain: For the next four years, we'll ease the pain of the hard-working souls caught in the transition from the old economy to the new one. A happy tune, but it leaves open the question of how to get much mileage from statistics that are the envy of the G-7 allies, who don't vote, but little solace to American workers who do.

Bored by the Details

Fortunately for Clinton campaign strategists, however befuddling the nation's economic mood looks to them, it has truly left Bob Dole flummoxed. His own advisers concede that the whole subject of job insecurity and wages bores him. That may explain his awkward

It's not easy to get political mileage from prosperity that doesn't show in paychecks.

handling of the minimum wage debate, an example of what can happen to politicians who wander aimlessly into the minefield of the economic inequality debate. "You can't have an economic strategy until the candidate sits down and develops one," one of Mr. Dole's colleagues and supporters in the Senate fumed on Thursday, as Democrats popped up on the evening

news portraying Mr. Dole as the enemy of workers struggling to stay off welfare on a measly \$4.25 an hour. It's still early in the campaign, and Mr. Dole may yet step forward with a convincing economic pitch. But the Republicans have been struggling to find an economic agenda for six months now, and Mr. Dole would be forgiven for wishing for the comparative simplicity of the economy that faced Mr. Clinton in 1992. Then the issue was reviving American industry and making the world's biggest economy competitive against a host of external threats. Mr. Clinton's answer was one part "Putting People First," one part tough trade talk and one part big Government programs like Al Gore's "information superhighway." "The world view in 1992 was that Japan is unstop-

Continued on page 3

Hero Worship

Longing for a New Lone Genius



For centuries, the Lone Genius has been idolized. But great minds, however extraordinary, are never truly alone on their journeys to discovery.

By JAMES ATLAS

ONE of the most surprising literary sensations this spring is a tiny volume, "Longitude," by Dava Sobel, about an obscure 18th-century inventor. Subtitled "The True Story of a Lone Genius Who Solved the Greatest Scientific Problem of His Time," Ms. Sobel's book has people in the publishing industry puzzling over the secret of its success. Is it the bite-size format? The book's handsome appearance? Simple nostalgia? Here's another thought: "Longitude" is popular because it celebrates individual genius — the way a single compelling idea can change the world. In a time increasingly dominated by technology, when we doubt our very ability to master the complex organization of the society in which we live, the thought of a private vision working its way to public consciousness — altering the contours of reality — seems all the more appealing for being such an unlikely scenario. (Which doesn't mean it can't happen.) The great 19th-century thinkers believed in their capacity to change the world; 20th-century thinkers are daunted by the challenge of understanding it.

Marx, Freud, Darwin, Einstein. Where are their likes today?

John Harrison, the book's subject, was a reclusive rural clockmaker who invented the chronometer, solving a problem that had eluded scientists for two centuries: how to navigate accurately at sea. It took Harrison four decades to get it right and collect the British Government's £12,000 (some \$20 million by today's reckoning). The Great Man used to be one of our cherished myths, but it's gone out of fashion now. Half a century ago, in "To the Finland Station," Edmund Wilson narrated the history of modern revolutions by portraying the figures who furnished the ideas behind them: the 19th-century French intellectuals Michelet and Proudhon; the Utopians Fourier and Owen; Marx and Engels, Lenin and Trotsky. Twenty years later, in "The Tangled Bank," Stanley Edgar Hyman produced

a collective biography of the quartet of 19th-century thinkers who brought us into the 20th century: Marx, Darwin, Freud and the Scottish anthropologist Sir James Frazer. In Mr. Hyman's eyes, these figures of genius — all of them men, it should probably be noted — conjured up their world-altering ideas in heroic isolation, drawing on the ideas of their predecessors but ultimately arriving at their most significant insights on their own. For Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hyman, the history of ideas is the history of individuals — what you might call the Lone Genius school. If these loners had precursors (try to imagine Marx developing his theory of dialectical materialism without Hegel), the contributions they had made were incidental. It was in originality that greatness lay. But intellectual history — the idea of ideas — has itself undergone a radical transformation, perhaps without our fully realizing it. The great ideas of our time are thought to be collective products: their inspiration has been collaborative. What are these ideas? I can think of three:

Continued on page 4



At the End, the Words
In the Middle
East, a few
written phrases
help mute the
cries of war.

By Serge Schmemmann **2**

Wheat and Chaff
From a Kansan
promoting grain
exports, Dole's
evolving foreign
policy.

By Elaine Sciolino **3**



Red Flags
China spares itself
scrutiny on human rights
by warning developing
nations they may next.

By Barbara Crossette **2**

Knock, Knock
The answer to 'Who's
there?' is less likely to
be someone selling
encyclopedias or
brushes door-to-door.

By Allen R. Myerson **4**



The World

A Baffling Endgame in the Mideast

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

BECAUSE this is the Middle East," goes the old punch line to a long series of anecdotes that purport to explain situations that defy common logic. If there was any need to illustrate the genesis of the format, last week had it all.

There was Israel furiously bombing Lebanon in order to stampede Lebanese civilians, in order to force Syria to force Hezbollah guerrillas to stop firing Katyusha rockets at northern Israel — which they were doing to drive Israeli troops from a wedge of Lebanon that Israel occupies in order to protect its northern regions.

And there was Secretary of State Warren Christopher urgently shuttling back and forth, accompanied by a coterie of other foreign ministers. He was trying to shape a cease-fire arrangement that would at least restrict Israel and Hezbollah to fighting each other without terrorizing their respective civilian populations.

Mr. Christopher finally succeeded, just in time to enable Prime Minister Shimon Peres to go to Washington for a visit that was originally intended to advance a new campaign against terrorism, launched by the United States last month after a spate of terrible suicide bombings in Israel by Islamic guerrillas of Hamas.

If that's clear so far, read on. While all this was going on in Lebanon, a different show altogether was under way in Gaza, only a few hours' drive south. There, Yasir Arafat convened the Palestine National Council, the old parliament-in-exile of the Palestine Liberation Organization, in order to strip the P.L.O.'s charter of its two most fundamental ideas — armed struggle and the destruction of the "Zionist entity."

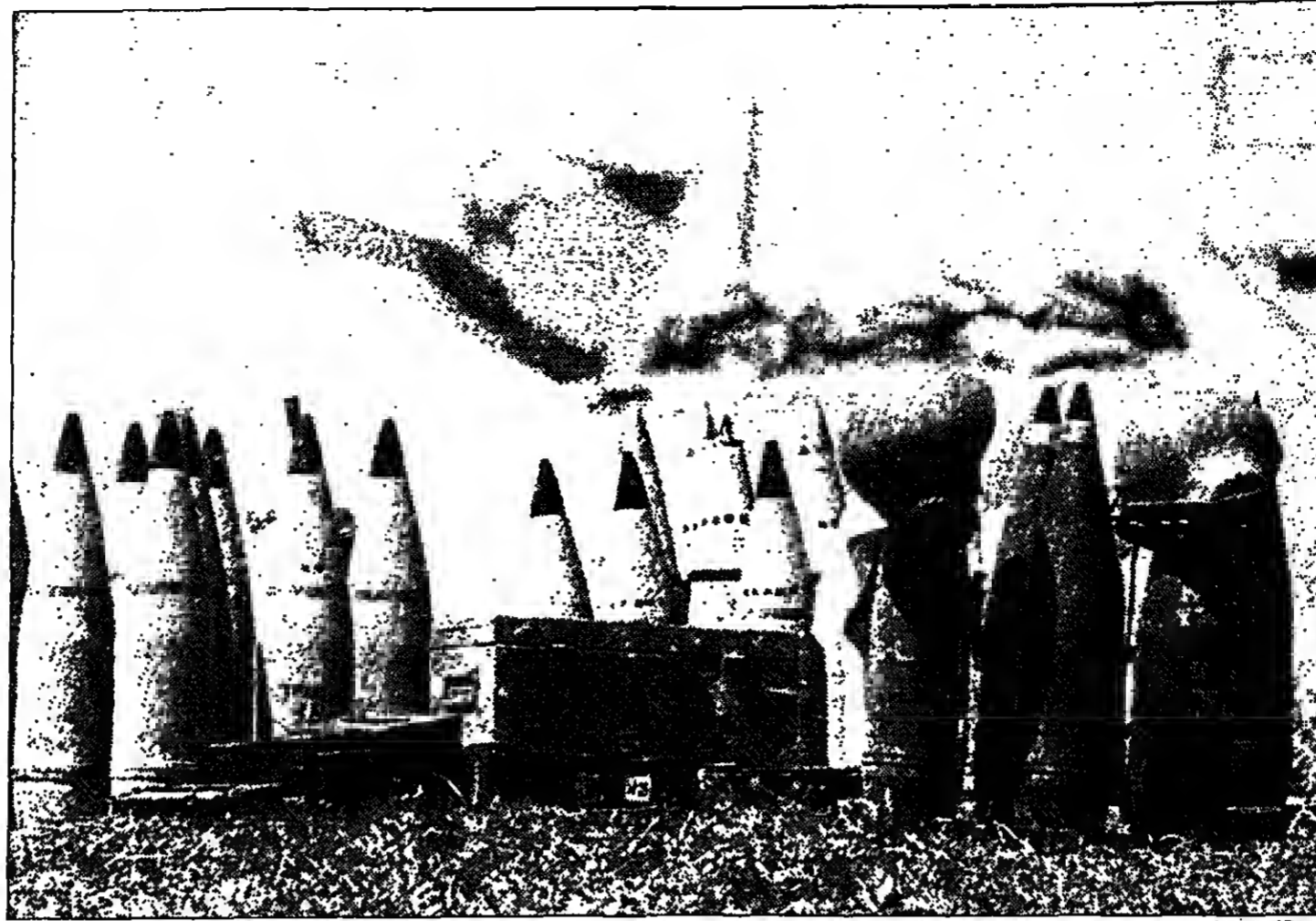
Remember Me?

The participants were a veritable Who's Who of old terrorists, all granted the right of safe return by Israel so that they would change the charter — all while Israel and Mr. Arafat's Palestinian Authority were fiercely hunting for a new generation of militants, from the Islamic group Hamas.

The rich drama and irony of the moment was summarized in the image of Abu Abbas — the mastermind behind the hijacking of the Achille Lauro cruise ship a decade ago, during which a disabled American was murdered and thrown overboard — tamely raising his shovel-sized hand up to vote for the change.

The fact that Mr. Arafat got a vote of 504 to 54, with 14 abstentions, testified to his leadership and his ability to persuade the Palestinians, both exiles and those from inside, that "one inch of Palestinian land and our presence on the land of Palestine is more dear than words on paper."

For all the confusion and seeming contradictions of the images cascading in from Tyre, Beirut, Damascus, Qiryat Shemona, Jerusalem and Gaza, several themes ran through them all.



Israeli helmets rest atop artillery shells during a lull in the exchanges of fire along the Lebanon-Israeli border last week.

One was the conviction of Mr. Peres and his Labor Party, and of the United States, and of Mr. Arafat, that keeping Labor in power in the Israeli election scheduled for May 29 was of paramount importance to the prospects of peace. Though Mr. Peres rejected any suggestion that he had or-

The way is now clear for the toughest negotiations of all.

dered "Operation Grapes of Wrath" in Lebanon to shore up his image for toughness, the notion was inescapable, and all Israeli commentators discussed whether the gambit had been wise or useful.

Like the United States, Mr. Arafat seemed to do everything possible to insure that Mr. Peres is re-elected. Not only did he ram through the revisions of the Covenant, but he did it on Israel's independence day. On the next day, the Labor Party returned the favor by voting to lift clauses in the

party platform opposed to the formation of a Palestinian state, and Mr. Peres said that the Israeli withdrawal from Hebron, suspended after the suicide bombings, would be completed by the first week of May.

Another theme that ran through the week's events was a confirmation that the Middle East had moved far from a raw conflict between Arab and Jew, and was now in a complex and sensitive endgame.

It is the potential proximity to the end, to the comprehensive Middle East peace that has eluded the region now for almost half a century, that gives the moves in Lebanon and in Gaza their significance.

In Gaza, the P.L.O.'s formal revocation of an armed struggle to destroy the Jewish state marked a major symbolic milestone, and stripped Israeli right-wingers of a favorite weapon against the peace. The way seems clear for the start of the final and most difficult round of talks envisioned in the 1993 Israeli-Palestinian agreement — the "final status" negotiations that must tackle issues as explosive as the disposition of Jerusalem, the fate of Jewish settlements in the West Bank, the division of water, and Palestinian statehood.

In the north, the immediate effect of the American arrangement — that of stopping

the firing on Lebanese and Israeli civilians — was probably less significant in the long run than the fact that Syria has finally agreed to a written document that assigns it a role in controlling guerrillas in southern Lebanon. Until now, Syria had always purported that this was not its fight, and that it had no interest in stopping guerrillas who were fighting against occupiers. Americans and Israelis expressed hope that the step had brought Syria closer to actually making peace with Israel and thus effectively bringing an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict.

But the closer they come to the goal, the greater loom the perils. However well Mr. Christopher crafted the compromise, however adeptly Mr. Arafat manipulated his comrades, however successfully Mr. Peres managed his campaign, they all know that one more Hamas suicide bombing, or one more Hezbollah rocket, could throw everything off again.

The very alacrity with which the United States and other governments have reacted to recent Middle East crises testifies to the fragility and sensitivity of every blip, to the fear that the slightest misstep now could derail the whole journey toward peace.

This is still, after all, the Middle East.

Italy's New Politics

Barricades in the Middle of the Road

By CELESTINE BOHLEN

LAST week, a coalition of center-left parties won national elections in Italy, promising an administration in which the left and moderates will work hand in hand. Four days later, the hardy Marxists of the Communist Refounding party — who ran as allies but not members of the victorious coalition — called the faithful to annual rallies celebrating Italy's liberation in 1945. "The fascists sometimes come back," was the dark warning spelled out on posters plastered all over central Rome. "We can stop them — hope is reborn."

In those two events, the paradox of Italy's attitude toward voting was spelled out. If the elections were a step toward a system where two parties, both acceptable to the center, square off on a regular schedule as they do in Germany and Britain, then the rhetoric of the Liberation Day posters was a rumbling echo from another, parallel world, where Communists and Fascists are perpetually locked in mortal combat, fighting over the soul of the nation.

A Way of Life

For many Italians, indeed, politics remains more than a choice between candidates, policy positions and coalitions. It is a source of identity — a way of looking at history, a circle of friends, a dress code, a reading list, a morning newspaper — all of which, taken together, defines someone as being of the right or of the left.

But don't confuse this with how the country is governed. It has been governed from the center ever since World War II because most Italian voters want it that way, and nothing that has happened since the end of the cold war promises anything different. Yes, the party around which so many of the centrist voters used to flock, the Christian Democrats, has collapsed and what is taking its place is a competition between coalitions of the left and of the right. But these are center-left and center-right coalitions, competing for the all-important center voter on the issues, no matter what



Old symbols live in Milan. Communists celebrate the center-left's election victory.

banner the most ardent partisans of either side display. Still, the costumes and banners are very much in evidence.

So even though it was the center-left Olive Tree coalition that won last Sunday, its victory bash at Rome's Piazza S. Apostoli that night was a purely leftist event (except that here olive green flags had replaced the red hammer-and-sickle). The rest was predictable — disheveled students singing the latest pop tunes, casually dressed women and occasional chants of "Enrico," a nostalgic reference to Enrico Berlinguer, the leader of Italy's postwar

Communist Party (ancestor of both the Democratic Party of the Left, which is in the coalition, and the Communist Refounding party, which stands aloof).

Italy is not the only country that has a political identity kit. The leftist intellectual in rumpled clothes and the conservative businessman in a double-breasted suit are clichés everywhere; it is just that in Italy, style and substance have been particularly tightly wrapped, and the old culture is dying hard. The question now is whether the old symbols carry the same meaning. In the old days, when the Christian Dem-

ocrats absorbed Italian politics like a giant sponge in the center of the road, "left" really did mean Communist, and "right" generally meant neo-fascists, two groups regarded with suspicion by the great mass of moderate Roman Catholics.

As long as the Christian Democrats (who were also of the right, but in a more "church and establishment" kind of way) were around, they absorbed other moderate parties that came along — like the Socialist Party, which, in due course, became part of the Great Center.

The collapse of the old order, upon a wave of corruption scandals in the early 1990's, created a large class of political orphans overnight, and sent the left and right off fishing for their votes. In 1994, the millionaire Silvio Berlusconi moved in from the right with his Forza Italia movement, sweeping up a large share of the former Christian Democrats. Last Sunday, the center-left came back and outdid its rivals, having formed an electoral coalition stuffed with moderate, respectable Catholics, looking and acting for the world like, well, Christian Democrats.

What, Me a Leftist?

Thus when Contessa Donatella Pecci-Biunti held a soiree late in the campaign to present the interim Prime Minister, Lamberto Dini, a former Christian Democrat who was running with the center-left coalition, to the Roman aristocracy, she was playing a little trick on history. "These people," said one guest airily, pointing to the elegant crowd weaving its way through a candlelit maze of 16th century salons, "used to vote for the Christian Democrats. Now they prefer the right, but she's trying to persuade them to go with Dini, and convince them that does not mean a vote for the left."

The point is that Italian voters — of whom there are 49 million — have moved very little in the last four years, even as one political system came crashing down around their heads, and another staggered to its feet. What has moved are the politicians who, bereft of a center, have redistributed themselves across two broad-based coalitions.

Snubbing Human Rights

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

NOT so long ago, when the cold war was coldest, countries knew where they stood on the issue of human rights. With a few exceptions like the world's condemnation of apartheid, the rule was that the bad guys on the American side weren't really so bad, but the bad guys on the Soviet side were horrible.

When Communism collapsed, everything seemed possible, even in the United Nations, where votes on issues like human rights could in the past be tallied before they were cast. Activists arose in many countries who had never before enjoyed an independent voice. The world held a human rights conference in Vienna in 1993 and dared to enshrine universal concepts. A United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights was named for the first time.

Hold the balloons and whistles. Last week in Geneva at the annual meeting of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, the world got a warning that the trend toward open, nonpolitical discussion of rights might be temporary. China successfully led the charge against scrutiny of itself by rallying support from developing nations with the cry: You could be next! Panicked nations of the third world, now calling themselves the "global South," began work on reforms that human rights organizations and diplomats saw as a direct assault on the institutions and procedures surrounding the 53-nation Human Rights Commission and the United Nations Center for Human Rights here.

The Global South

The nations of the global South, many with spotty records on rights, are a majority, at both the United Nations and in the world. United, they are formidable. Today they are demanding consensus on human rights issues, effectively giving any nation a veto. A resolution that would have applied this practice to the commission was withdrawn last week only when some of these countries calculated how it might be used against them. It will likely return.

"If we analyze the vote on China this week," said Peter van Wulfften Palthe, a Dutch diplomat who is leader of the Netherlands delegation to the commission and one of Europe's most knowledgeable human rights experts, "I know that the most important conclusion is that whether we win or lose depends very much on that year's composition of the commission." This year, China relied on a solid block of African and Asian votes (plus Belarus and Ukraine) to keep it off the commission's agenda.

Gerardino A. Ferraro, who leads the United States delegation to the commission, said that the Chinese, whose efforts failed last year, worked harder on the North-South divide this year by arguing that the richer countries "don't understand our cultures" and always pick on the poorer countries.

The examples of Aung San Sun Kyi almost single-handedly sustaining Burmese hopes for democracy or the Buddhist monks in Vietnam and Tibet bravely campaigning for cultural and religious freedoms give the lie to the cultural argument. As for development, Ms. Ferraro said, "How do we define Singapore or Peru? How do we define developing?"

John Shattuck, Assistant Secretary of State for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, sees Latin America drifting away from a third-world consensus that human rights scrutiny is an intrusion into national sovereignty. What many countries really fear, he said in an interview here, is "the inexorable pressure that grass roots movements for human rights and democracy are creating." This can drive them into cynical alliances of convenience.

Some Paradoxes

While almost every country champions human rights, many vary over what those rights consist of, and influences range from the political to the cultural.

Foremost among Asian paradoxes, India identifies itself as the world's largest democracy but votes regularly with the most undemocratic regimes on human rights issues. Arundhati Ghose, India's envoy to the U.N. in Geneva, said her country objected to the "finger pointing" method by which poor nations are humiliated.

Ms. Ghose met resistance on child pornography and sex tourism when she asked Germany, Japan, Korea and the Netherlands to join in calling for a ban. "They were willing to say, 'O.K., we can ban child pornography, but we are not willing to ban promotion of sex tours,'" she said. Members of the Human Rights Commission had been shown German ads offering "boys of any color, size or age."

"If we can agree that it's nobody's fault, but it's a bad thing, then we can tackle it together," she said. "The moment you start apportioning blame, people go on the defensive."

Yet the world has accomplished much in the five years since the Soviet Union died, Mr. Shattuck said. "What continues to be a highly divisive process," he said, "is this debate over human rights that takes place annually at the Rights Commission, where China, I think, has now taken very much the same position that the former Soviet Union did — to do everything you possibly can to prevent international scrutiny of its human rights record."

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The Nation

Dole's Foreign Policy Record: It's Hard to Read

By ELAINE SCIOLINO

BOB DOLE'S pitch for himself as the next commander-in-chief is that he deserves the job because he's a tough guy who knows what he's doing.

"When it comes to providing leadership around the world, we want someone with experience, someone who understands sacrifice, somebody who knows what America is all about," Mr. Dole told a rally recently. "And I know that I could do better than Bill Clinton when it comes to foreign policy."

Indeed, if the Republicans in Congress were to vote on the most statesmanlike in their midst, the Senate Majority Leader would probably win, not necessarily because he is the wisest, but because he is the most practiced. Way back in 1970, as a freshman Senator from Kansas, Mr. Dole was orchestrating a filibuster to prevent a cut off of aid for U.S. operations in Cambodia. Bill Clinton was a student at Oxford.

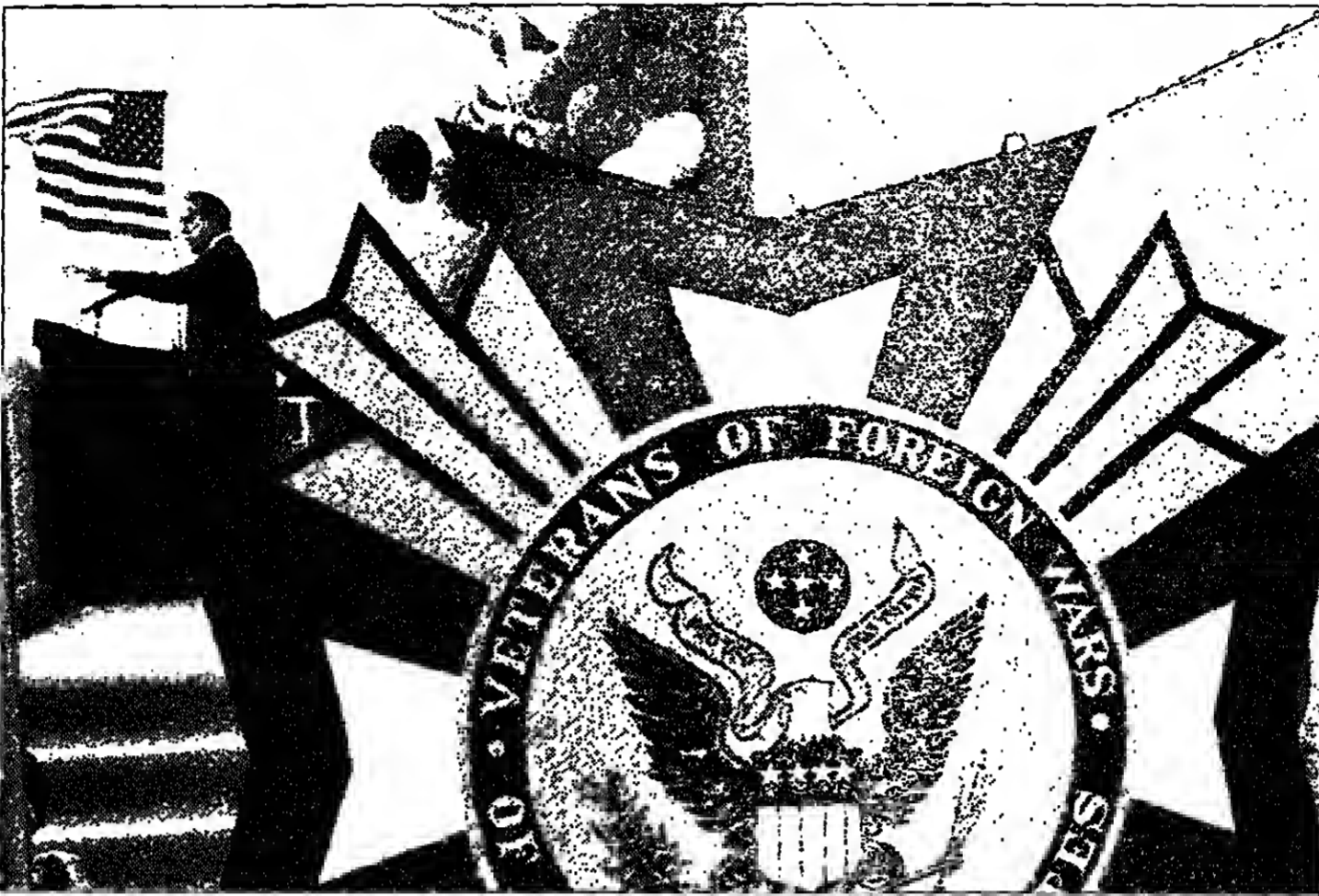
Call Him Unpredictable

But the more the spotlight is trained on Mr. Dole's vast 36-year record in the Senate, the harder it is to predict how he would act as President. The same tactics that have served him well as a legislator — the maneuvers for temporary advantage, the flip-flops, even the quirkiness — may not transfer into the Oval Office.

Mr. Dole does not pretend to be a global architect. His most ambitious attempt at a foreign policy manifesto — a ghost-written article in Foreign Policy last year — criticized both the "new world order" of George Bush and the "assertive multilateralism" of Bill Clinton in favor of a vague commitment to American "leadership" abroad.

That doesn't mean there is no consistency in Mr. Dole's world, which draws upon his experiences as a soldier and as a legislator.

It is hard to overestimate the importance of his brush with death on an Italian hillside in World War II in shaping his approach. His experience as a soldier helped forge his belief in the broad authority of the President to carry out foreign and military policy. It has moved him to support American military operations abroad even when he might have opposed undertaking them in the first place. "We have one President at a time in this country," he said last November in acceding to Mr. Clinton's decision to send troops to Bosnia.



Bob Dole's war experiences fostered respect for the military. He was honored last year by veterans in his hometown, Russell, Kan.

His war injury also led to a close relationship with an Armenian immigrant surgeon who helped him regain partial use of his right arm and told stories about the extermination of 1.5 million Armenians in World War II. The result was an idiosyncratic passion: unflinching support of Armenia, at the expense of Turkey and Azerbaijan, and deep concern about genocide.

Mr. Dole has also been consistent in putting Kansas wheat ahead of geopolitics. He opposed President Carter's embargo on grain sales to the Soviet Union after the invasion of Afghanistan for that reason, and in 1990 favored the extension of hundred of millions in loan credits so that Iraq could buy American grain.

But his perch in the Senate has also given

him the luxury of reacting situationally. Mr. Dole has taken potshots at the Administration's deal to give North Korea \$4 billion in nuclear energy reactors in exchange for its dismantling of its weapons program — implying that there was a better deal to be had but never saying what it was. On Russia, he has criticized the Administration for being soft on President Boris N. Yeltsin, without ever saying what he would do instead.

Arabs and Israelis

As for the Middle East, consistency has never been his strong suit. In 1990, he earned a reputation as anti-Israeli after he proposed taking five percent of aid from the largest foreign recipients — including Israel

and Egypt — and giving it to the emerging democracies in eastern Europe.

The same year, after Arab leaders scolded him for advocating a resolution declaring Jerusalem the capital of Israel, Mr. Dole said it was all a big mistake. "We all know how it works around here," he said upon his return home. "We carry our resolution or our letter into the cloakroom. We buttonhole every Senator who walks in and push them for an immediate signature. Half the time the signer doesn't even read the text."

Now, at election time, there is no talk of cutting aid to Israel. And last year, Mr. Dole voted for legislation to move the American embassy to Jerusalem, which even the Israeli Government views as provocative.

On China, no Republican on Capitol Hill

Over 36 years, consistency has not been a strength.

was more supportive of President Bush's determination to preserve China's preferential trade benefits than Mr. Dole. But Mr. Clinton got a lot of mileage out of criticizing George Bush in 1992 for "coddling" China's dictators, and in the current frozen atmosphere with Beijing, Mr. Dole apparently wants to keep his options open. He has yet to declare his position on whether the United States should renew trade benefits this spring, and recently canceled an important speech he was to make on China, in part because he could not decide what to say.

There is at least one instance in Mr. Dole's career, when, backed into a corner, he revealed that he could have a tin ear in diplomacy. When he led a delegation to Iraq on behalf of Mr. Bush in 1990, four months before President Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, Iraq's Foreign Minister asked Mr. Dole if he would ask Israel to match Iraq's declaration to free the Middle East of all nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, a long-held Arab position designed to embarrass Israel. Instead of saying he would relay Iraq's message to his President, Mr. Dole could not resist playing dealmaker. "I will work to obtain such a declaration," he declared, according to a transcript authenticated by two Americans at the meeting.

Slow Starts

Unquestionably, Senator Dole has more foreign policy experience than Ronald Reagan or Jimmy Carter had upon assuming the Presidency — or, for that matter, Bill Clinton, who has never had perfect pitch on foreign policy.

In one sense, nothing in Mr. Dole's legislative career really counts, since he could perform much differently once in the Oval Office. Still, his reaction to crises along the way offer snapshots into his thinking. In a televised interview just after Iraq invaded Kuwait, Mr. Dole said, "We don't belong in that part of the world," adding that the invasion "ought to be settled by the Arabs." Six years later, he may have to explain how views like these fit into his foreign policy mantra of America as global leader.

A Good Year for Running

More Women, Fewer Causes

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

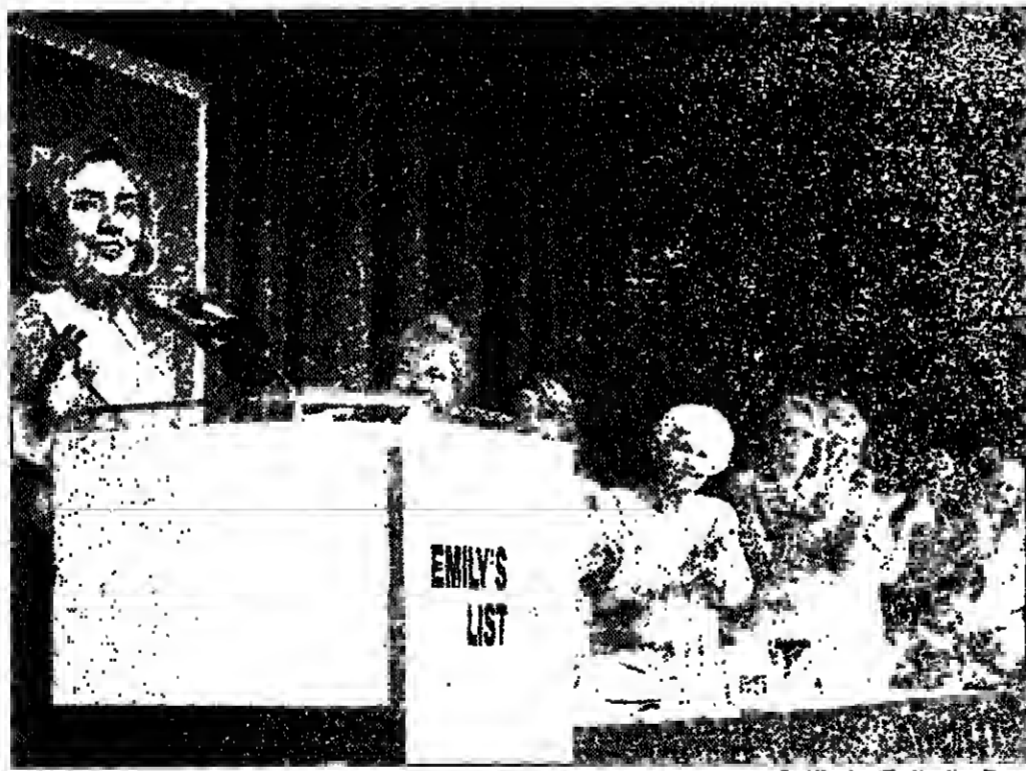
BY all appearances, circumstances have not been so bright for women running for office since 1992, and perhaps ever. There will probably be more women candidates for state and Federal office this November than ever before. A Democrat is leading in the Presidential race, and there is thought that Democrats might even regain control of Congress — again boding well for women candidates, who are likely to be Democrats.

But for all that, no one is calling 1996 "the Year of the Woman," the phrase that has been kicked around in even-numbered years since 1990. In the field, women candidates report they are talking not about breaking barriers, but about the issues that make up most political contests: health care, budget cuts, the minimum wage, the deficit.

What has happened? It's not that women are expected to do poorly in the elections this year. Indeed, the early guessing is that women will gain seats in Congress and in state legislatures — if only because so many are running — while picking up a governorship or two. But two things have taken the edge off of what once was an attention-grabbing political phenomenon.

The first is that after 1992 — when the differences between Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill tumbled from Capitol Hill into the voting booth and then back with a near-doubling in the number of women in Congress — the pace slackened. The year of the 20-seat pick-up has given way to the prospect of many years "just slugging it out, seat by seat," in the words of Celinda Lake, a Democratic pollster.

The other change is that the election of a woman isn't big news anymore. The world has changed since Susan Molinari, the Staten Island Republican, learned while running for Con-



Hillary Clinton addressing Emily's List, a group that backs Democratic women candidates.

this, and find it refreshing that the divisions this year seem to be Democrat versus Republican, challenger versus incumbent, rather than man versus woman.

"There's probably less focus on women being women and probably more focus on women being candidates," said Nancy Mayer, a Republican and Rhode Island General Treasurer, who is running for Senate. "Maybe we're being judged more on our abilities, our experience, our credentials. Maybe we're not singled out anymore as aberrant creatures who are doing this man's thing."

That said, there is still a long way to go until women achieve anything near parity in politics. There are now 43 women in the House of Representatives, including 31 Democrats and 17 Republicans, and eight women in the Senate (five Democrats, three Republicans). That is just 10.5 percent of the 535 seats in Congress. Similarly, just under 21 percent of the 7,424 elected state legislators are women, which is a record, but just by a whisker. And there is only one Governor, Christine Todd Whitman of New Jersey, down from five in 1992. Ruth B. Mandel, director of the Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University, which gathered the data, said, "Government is still a sea of suits."

More Run, More Win

On the other hand, more and more women are running for office, and more and more are winning. Mrs. Ferguson at the National Women's Political Caucus said 180 women are trying to make their way onto House ballots and 14 are competing for the 33 contested Senate seats. There are at least two Governor's races, Washington State and West Virginia, where women are thought to have a good shot.

No More Novelty

Until then, the shift in the perception of women candidates is changing the shape of the 1996 political races in ways that are obvious, and in ways that are not. For one thing, it is not at all clear that this acceptance is always useful for women. The novelty of running as a woman — and with it the apparent advantage — is wearing off. Ms. Lake found in her polling this year that women in Democratic primaries, who had in recent years started with a 10- to 20-point advantage when running against men, no longer have that edge.

Still, "people want to stop business as usual in Congress," said Debbie Stabenow, a Democrat running for Congress in Lansing, Mich. "I'm, by definition, not a good old boy."

The National Women's Political Caucus predicts that women will pick up perhaps five or six more seats in Congress. It's a far cry from 1992. But while things might speed up or slow down in any given year, the trend seems both unmistakable and irreversible. "The progress has been consistent," said Ms. Mandel. "The change has continued, unabated, at a serious, steady, somewhat slow pace."

Happy Days Are Here Again, Yes?

Continued from page 1

pable, and the challenge to America was external," said John N. Yochelson, the head of the Council on Competitiveness, a Washington organization born in the mid-80's to help create a national industrial strategy.

But today American officials treat Japan as a nation choking on its own bank failures and arcane regulations. That is why Mr. Clinton could go to Tokyo two weeks ago, barely utter a harsh word about trade, and know that Mr. Dole would not make a peep in response.

The Pay Problem

Now, even while some workers fear that their jobs are headed to Mexico or China, Mr. Yochelson argues that America's main challenge is "squaring domestic growth with high-wage jobs."

Some Democrats say this conundrum is not all bad. It keeps eyes trained on the economy rather than on issues of character. Mr. Dole's presumed strength. And polls show most workers do not blame the President for their insecurities.

Nonetheless, capitalizing on a sound economy that is not generating bigger paychecks is no easy task. The Democrats learned that in 1994, when the economy looked pretty good and the Republican Congress was swept into power.

So the White House is settling on a middle ground that was mapped out last week by the Council of Economic Advisers. After recent press reports of devastation from corporate

white-collar reporters?

The answers: Yes, 68 percent of the new jobs pay better than the median wages of America's 120 million or so workers. No, employment in burger-flipping is actually falling, and most new service-sector jobs are managerial or professional. But the skeptics are on to something: In the 1991-92 recession, white-collar workers were "considerably more at risk of displacement" than in the 1981-82 recession, particularly those 55 or older. And the average displaced worker takes a 10 percent pay cut — more or less permanently.

"Are we saying there are no reasons for workers to be anxious?" asks Ms. Tyson. "Absolutely not. There are plenty of reasons. But you can't expect to reverse a long-term trend in just three years."

Polls show nearly three-quarters of voters know someone who has lost a job, and the White House is betting they will like Mr. Clinton's calls for portable health insurance (passed unanimously by the Senate last week), portable pensions and a \$10,000 tax credit for college education or retraining. The argument inside the Administration is over how much to intrude upon corporate decision-making. Ms. Tyson and Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin drew the line when Robert Reich, the Labor Secretary, advocated tax benefits for companies that guarantee jobs in profitable times and give workers a share in growing profits.

If the Administration is nervous about bashing corporate America, Mr. Dole won't even think about it. Asked how to address worker anxiety, he talks almost entirely about shrinking the Government and cutting the deficit. And he has yet to put together a plan beyond the rising-tide-raises-all-boats approach that Republicans love but that blue-collar voters find increasingly suspect.

He is already in retreat on the minimum wage, as his own troops defect from the party line.

"The Republicans are in trouble on this in a larger way than they ever expected," Mr. Reich crowed in an interview Friday, still surprised by the issue's sudden revival.

"When the stock market is soaring and chief executives are earning princely sums, it's hard to argue that the nation will fall apart because we mandate another 90 cents an hour to the poorest wage-earners in the nation," Mr. Reich said. "But if Dole wants to dig that hole, I'll be happy to hand him a shovel."

downsizing, Laura D'Andrea Tyson, Mr. Clinton's chief economic strategist, asked the Council a few basic questions: Do the new jobs being created pay as well as the old ones? Are A.T.&T. executives really flipping burgers? And are white-collar layoffs — sorry, Washington calls them "displacements" — really rising, or is that an illusion created by

Nearly three-quarters of voters know someone who has lost a job.

Ideas & Trends

The Death of Some Salesmen

By ALLEN R. MYERSON

PAUL BUNYAN, John Henry or Horatio Alger he's not. But America's workday culture has few figures as storied as the salesman, scouring a territory or going door to door, "riding on a smile and a shoeshine," as Arthur Miller memorably put it. The salesman was once ubiquitous. He trudged from the pages of Theodore Dreiser to a Warner Brothers cartoon where, as Daffy Duck, he wrecked Porky Pig's home while demonstrating a vacuum cleaner and other labor-saving thingamajigs.

No longer. When Encyclopedia Britannica dismissed all its home sales representatives last week, cutting 140 full-time employees and 300 independent contractors, it was but one more sign that the old-style career salesman is dead.

But not the smaller independent, face-to-face salesperson. Far from it. Where Willy Loman once was, there is now a new force of part-timers, mostly women, prying at the gates between their economic ghetto and the verdant middle class.

In an era of malls, home-shopping networks and catalogues, there are also more and more people like Cindy Funderburk of Florien, La. She drives a school bus, beginning at 6:20 A.M. She tends the chickens and cows on her farm. And she sells Beauticontrol CQ Herbal Serenity lotions. What A Pearl! shampoo and Regeneration anti-aging creams with Alpha Hydroxy Acid Complex 3, making enough to help pay for her daughter's college and for three straight annual vacations to Branson, Mo.

The door-to-door mainstays have slowly mutated, until they are all but unrecognizable. Encyclopedia Britannica abandoned door-to-door sales decades ago in favor of having its salesmen, including many full-timers, follow up leads generated by advertising and referrals. At the Fuller Brush Company, 11 presidents in five years couldn't keep up the legendary sales force that

once included Billy Graham and Joe DiMaggio. The company was sold two years ago to a buyer who, relying less on the salespeople, has nearly doubled the number of Fuller Brush stores.

At cosmetics companies, meanwhile, person-to-person sales are booming. The Direct Selling Association says that, from 1990 to 1994, the sales force nationwide has increased by more than third, to 6.3 million.

These figures might smell self-serving, but Neil H. Offen, the association's president, has an alarmingly frank explanation. "We provide an alternative to welfare, an alternative to unemployment compensation," he said. Or to other forms of downward mobility. "You can't stay in the middle class on one income," Mr. Offen said. "Sometimes not on two."

Many of the new salesmen and saleswomen belong to triple- or quadruple-career families. The rise in direct sales might partly explain why unemployment rates remain fairly low, despite wave after wave of corporate layoffs.

The industry's growth has been propelled by incessant recruiting. Many merchandisers give their salespeople a percentage on any other salespeople they recruit, and then on their recruits' recruits.

The pros like Mrs. Funderburk, collecting from 24 recruits, are always on the prowl for more. "Does your wife use Beauticontrol?" she asks.

Avon Calling

Instead of knocking on unfamiliar doors, a tactic some towns now forbid as a danger to salespeople and customers alike, the new sellers network. "We train people in how to connect at the office and factory," said Christina Gold, Avon's chief for North America. "It's a high-touch business." In two years, she has expanded her sales force by about 45,000, to 445,000. Though Mrs. Gold will occasionally test the market by selling with Avon's traditional ding and dong, more than half the company's sales are made or arranged at work.

Sales at home, for companies like Mary Kay cosmetics that have followed Tupperware's lead, now are more likely to involve living-room parties or classes in skin care than cold calling or knocking.

Even Girl Scouts are learning the tricks of modern direct sales, setting up booths in malls, train stations and office lobbies. This year, troops in Hawaii and the Boston area took to flogging their cookies on the Internet. "Times have changed and so have our selling tactics," said Judy Welage, a spokeswoman for the Girl Scouts.

Some scouts invade Mom's and Dad's offices directly. Who is going to resist buying a few too many boxes of Peanut Butter Patties when confronted in the open by the boss's pigtailed daughter?

Unlike Mrs. Funderburk and Miss Pig-tails, the traditional salesman suffers from an image that was muddied long ago. In the 1944 film "Double Indemnity," Fred MacMurray plays a visiting insurance agent noir who gets roped into the murder of a wealthy customer to collect the insurance payoff and the co-conspiring wife.

Decades later, when Louis Harris took a survey for the Direct Selling Association to help the industry shine its image, he reported that spending millions of dollars in one year would add no luster. "He said it would take 20 years," Mr. Offen, the association president, recalls.

As much as consumers have feared predatory salespeople, today's salespeople need protection from their rapacious companies. In an industry where annual turnover runs at 70 percent, companies often stick departing salespeople with overstuffed inventories and hundreds of dollars in training fees.

In one sense, though, direct sales may be coming full circle. Mr. Offen reports that men are returning in swarms, with their proportion having more than doubled, to 24 percent, in three years. Most are victims of layoffs or low wages.

Mrs. Gold can readily pick up the scent. "Would you like to be an Avon representative?" she asked with a lit. "I could have someone see you tomorrow."



Lee J. Cobb as Willy Loman in "Death of a Salesman."

Longing for a New Crop of Lone Geniuses

Continued from page 1

feminism, environmentalism and structuralism, the last of which argues that although cultures may look different in their details, they share the same deep structure. (For instance, all languages may look and sound different, but they all have one thing in common — a grammar.) "Our century generally seems less interested in ideas than the last, seems to care about them less and take them less seriously," Mr. Hyman complained in "The Tangled Bank." But is that really true? Maybe it's just that the ideas we consider important aren't the ideas Mr. Hyman cared about. They don't validate his Great Man fantasies.

Yet even these collective revolutions in thought have been led by powerful individuals — in several cases, women. Think of Rachel Carson's "Silent Spring," the pioneering work of the environmental movement. Think of Simone de Beauvoir's "The Second Sex." Or Claude Lévi-Strauss's "The Savage Mind," a work that changed forever our attitude toward so-called primitive humanity by demonstrating the rigorous logic of other societies' myths and rituals.

Our anti-heroic age likes to reduce innovators like these to scale. The genesis of ideas, like everything else, has been democratized. We are all equal, and none are more equal than others. To single out a Great Man — or a Great Woman — as the architect of an idea is to "privilege" that individual, to elevate him (or her) above the rest of us. The death of the author so proudly proclaimed by the structuralists and their intellectual heirs, the deconstructionists — that is, the belittling of the author's conscious role in his own creation — has been accompanied by the death of the hero.

In this leveling climate, the notion of the Lone Genius has taken on a certain romantic aura. We find inspiration in the drama of a visionary laboring alone to make his vision a reality. "The man who embraces a new paradigm at an early stage must often do so in defiance of the evidence provided by problem-solving," wrote Thomas Kuhn in his classic, "The Structure of Scientific Revolutions." The emergence of a new idea, Mr. Kuhn acknowledged, is "a process of accretion." It builds upon what has gone before. But it also requires a kind of leap: It's

a navigation helmet for observing the heavens, to Sir Isaac Newton and Edmund Halley; Einstein's theory of relativity had crucial antecedents in the electromagnetic theories of James Clerk Maxwell and Michael Faraday. It's the way ideas are interpreted that determines their impact. "What happens when a new work of art is created is something that happens simultaneously to all the works of art which preceded it," wrote T. S. Eliot. The same holds true of a new invention: it not only changes the world, but alters the way we see everything that has gone before.

Even the legendary Bill Gates understands this. In the public mind, Mr. Gates is a prototypical individualist, an empire builder in the tradition of J. P. Morgan and

In the 19th century, thinkers felt they could change the world. Now we are hard put to understand it.

Henry Ford, single-handedly forging the future out of his own visionary dreams. (What a guy?)

But in his book, "The Road Ahead," Mr. Gates himself acknowledges the collaboration of a school friend named Paul Allen, a fellow nerd who grasped the import of the computer (in fact the collaborative invention of Alan Turing and John von Neumann, among others). Mr. Gates also acknowledges the editors of Popular Mechanics, who featured a small computer on the cover of their January 1978 issue.

"Oh no! It's happening without us!" he recalls thinking as he loitered at the out-of-town newsstand in Harvard Square. "People are going to write real software for this chip." That was the breakthrough: the recognition that a revolution was about to occur. Mr. Gates' genius was to capitalize on the inventions of others — but it was still genius. Some things don't change: the way discoveries is made is one of them.

What is it about the Lone Genius that continues to appeal to us? It's a type that speaks to our hunger for personal freedom, revives the largely discredited conviction that we make our own fates, act on our own free will. Reading "Longitude" brought to mind Stephen Spender's poem, "I Think of Those Who Were Truly Great":

I think continually of those who were truly great.

Who, from the womb, remembered the soul's history
Through corridors of light where the hours are suns,
Endless and singing. Whose lovely ambition

Was that their lips, still touched with fire,
Should tell of their Spirit, clothed from head to foot in song.

We like to believe such dominating figures are still out there. And who knows? Maybe they are.

Some things don't change. All great leaps start from a platform built by others.

counter-intuitive. The great inventor must "have a faith that the new paradigm will succeed with the many large problems that confront it, knowing only that the older paradigm has failed with a few." Defiance and faith — without those two key character traits, John Harrison would never have invented the chronometer.

No idea is created in a vacuum. John Harrison drew upon the discoveries of previous inventors, from Galileo, who invented

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The Greening of Newt Gingrich

It is a pleasure to welcome Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich to the growing club of politicians who have come to believe that America's air, water, endangered species and what is left of its splendid natural resources deserve strong protection. His task now is to persuade some of his fellow Republicans to follow his lead.

In a speech to business people last week, Mr. Gingrich called for a "new environmentalism" that would provide even higher levels of protection without the regulatory burdens of the last 25 years. It would be based, he said, on rigorous standards, sound science and public-private cooperation. Parts of his speech sounded very much like the recent utterances of another late-blooming conservationist, President Clinton.

But his welcome conversion merely reminds us how much further the Speaker must travel if he wants to translate his rhetoric into substance and, to use his favorite word, "reposition" his party on environmental issues so that it is not punished by the voters in November. His first task is to figure out a way to control a handful of retrograde Republican colleagues who still cannot grasp a simple fact available to anyone who reads the polls — namely, that Americans do not want their basic environmental laws trifled with, however annoyed they may be by sometimes silly regulations.

One of these Republicans is Mr. Gingrich's very own floor leader, Tom DeLay, the majority whip, who championed many of the unsuccessful riders to last week's omnibus appropriations bill. Mr. DeLay has spent the last year trying to cripple the Environmental Protection Agency, which he routinely refers to as the "Gestapo." He has also proposed, not in jest, that Congress rescind the Clean Air Act amendments of 1990, George Bush's proudest contribution to environmental law.

Then there is the amazing duo of Alaska's Don

Young and California's Richard Pombo, who dominate the House Resources Committee and would like nothing better than to render meaningless the Endangered Species Act. Throw in James Hansen of Utah, who is leading the charge to privatize or turn over to the states millions of acres of Federal lands, and it becomes clear that Mr. Gingrich has some serious proselytizing to do.

The Senate, meanwhile, harbors Republicans like Larry Craig of Idaho, who hopes to make permanent the infamous "timber salvage" rider passed last year and approved by Mr. Clinton in a moment of weakness. That rider has already led to destructive logging of old-growth forests. Mr. Gingrich cannot do much about Mr. Craig, or Ted Stevens and Frank Murkowski of Alaska, who would open the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge to oil drilling. Nor can he do anything about the Democrats — like Senators John Breaux and J. Bennett Johnston of Louisiana — who give environmentalists fits. But he could at least pass the word to Bob Dole that the Republican senators are doing little to "reposition" the party on environmental issues.

Is the Speaker up to the task? In his talk to the business people, he did not apologize for last year's House votes that weakened Washington's regulatory authority over health, safety and the environment. Nor did he show any remorse for a bill hatched by Bud Shuster of Pennsylvania that would have gutted the Clean Water Act. Luckily, it went no further than the House.

Even so, Mr. Gingrich is now on record as favoring sound science over narrow politics when it comes to framing environmental law. There is no sound science in the bills the Youngs, Pombo and DeLays are promoting. If we can take the Speaker at his word, he will not let these bills come to the floor. For that we will all give thanks.

The Logic of Peace in Chechnya

The savage war in Chechnya has so far outlasted every effort to end it. The death last week of the Chechen rebel leader, Dzhokhar Dudayev, in a Russian rocket attack ought to bring both sides to their senses. They should at last commence serious discussions on a cease-fire and peace agreement.

There is certainly sufficient incentive for the Russians and Chechens to stop fighting. More than 30,000 civilians have died in the war, as have hundreds of Russian soldiers and Chechen fighters. Boris Yeltsin knows his re-election hopes depend greatly on ending the war, and the Chechen resistance surely must realize that further warfare can only compound the misery of the Chechen people.

Yet despite the overwhelming logic of peace and a proposed political settlement that would give Chechnya virtual independence, the war goes on. Mr. Yeltsin keeps declaring that Russian forces are suspending combat when it is plainly evident they are still bombing Chechen villages. He did so again last weekend at a news conference with President Clinton.

Either Mr. Yeltsin is deliberately trying to mislead his countrymen or he has been badly misled by his military commanders. Neither explanation is flattering to the Russian leader.

The Chechen rebels, for their part, have refused to put down their guns, apparently convinced that the prospect of continual war and ever-increasing casualties will eventually force Moscow to walk away and accept the full independence of Chechnya. That is an uncertain bet, at best.

Much now depends on the new leadership of the resistance. Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev, Mr. Dudayev's apparent successor, has been unyielding on independence, but other leaders seem prepared to re-evaluate their position after 16 months of war.

The rewards of intransigence are all too visible in the destroyed lives and villages of Chechnya and the grave sites of Russian soldiers who died in a war they did not understand. Mr. Yeltsin should silence Russia's guns, and the Chechen fighters should accept the large degree of independence he now offers them and return home to heal their families.

Editorial Notebook

Mayor Giuliani Girds for Battle

One of Rudolph Giuliani's big advantages in running for re-election is the fact that not many other people actually want his job. More than a year before the New York mayoral campaign really begins, most of the city's top Democrats have already taken themselves out of the running, eyeing junior prizes one more year down the line. Both Gov. George Pataki and Senator Alfonse D'Amato seem vulnerable when up for re-election in 1998, despite the fact that former Mayor Ed Koch, in a burst of advance planning, has already endorsed them both.

The conventional wisdom of New York politics is that Mr. Giuliani's job is not nearly as desirable as Mr. Pataki's or Mr. D'Amato's. It may be true in most professions that if you make it in New York City, you can make it anywhere. But being elected mayor is regarded as the equivalent of the Academy Award for lifetime achievement — a very high prestige way of saying your career is over.

Still, Mr. Giuliani is obviously happy with his present employment and is positioning himself for the next campaign. He has made peace overtures toward David Garth, his estranged campaign adviser. He has managed to get rid of Police Commissioner William Bratton, who, according to the polls, is the man most New Yorkers believe is responsible for bringing down the crime rate. The Mayor apparently did not want to run the risk that next year's opponent would promise to keep Mr. Bratton on the job, offering voters the option of Giuliani crime control without Giuliani.

The one thing the Mayor will not do to get re-elected is change his style, since he has neither the talent nor the will for political mutation. That means he will continue to rely on a circle of advisers so small that his chief of staff serves double duty fighting crime at the fish market, and the head of the Department of Investigation also rode herd on the Columbus Avenue street repairs. He will not learn Mr. Koch's art of self-deprecating humor. During the campaign he will no doubt defend his best and worst decisions with equal vigor, and accuse his opponent, no matter who he or she is, of "old thinking."

The only Democrat who has positively declared he wants to be Mr. Giuliani's opponent is Councilman Sal Albanese of Brooklyn. Mr. Albanese lacks name recognition. But a city that likes to see its Republican Mayor savage other Republicans may feel some sympathy for a Democrat who is equally irritating to his party leaders.

Strategies for Keeping A Job Few Covet

by throwing him off the Youth Committee.

Former Congressman Geraldine Ferraro has been playing the Colin Powell role of the pre-campaign period. Ms. Ferraro, who has not held public office since 1984 and who has made no overtures toward running for mayor, was the only candidate who could beat Mr. Giuliani in a recent Quinnipiac College poll. But right now, polls can measure little but voters' shifting attitudes toward their mayor, and their ability to recognize names of opponents. Mr. Giuliani's polls have shown that he was most popular when he endorsed Mario Cuomo and when he displayed a softer side in his statements on child welfare earlier this year. But approval ratings from 40 to 50 percent during most of his term suggest that the next election will be close and hard-fought.

The best-known Democrats to express an interest in being mayor are two Borough Presidents, Ruth Messinger of Manhattan and Fernando Ferrer of the Bronx. Although neither is a declared candidate, both have been planning their campaigns for a long time. Ms. Messinger held her first unofficial fund-raiser, a women-only Super Bowl party, in 1994. Mr. Ferrer has hired Dick Morris, the political strategist who has pushed President Clinton to pre-empt the Republicans on social issues where the conservative stance is popular. It may be a coincidence that Mr. Ferrer, a lifelong opponent of capital punishment, last month demanded the death penalty in the murder of a police officer in the Bronx.

Other Democratic options are dwindling. Public Advocate Mark Green recently announced he will run for the United States Senate. State Comptroller H. Carl McCall and Congressman Charles Schumer seem to be aiming at the governor's race. Mr. Vallone has made it pretty clear that he values his evenings at home too much to run for mayor. "I need a family life, and I don't know whether this city allows you to have one," he told the Times's Joyce Purnick earlier this year. "I think you can as President. I think you can as Governor. I don't think you can do it as Mayor of the City of New York." The nation's chief executive may have a lot on his plate, but Mr. Vallone is presumably impressed that he does not have to leave the dinner table every time there is an electric explosion in the subways. GAIL COLLINS

Goetz's Attackers Should Have Known Risks

To the Editor:

Re "The Goetz Verdict" (editorial, April 24): Perhaps you have forgotten what it was like to use the New York City subways in the mid-1980's. I haven't, nor have my friends. Riding the subway — with its filth and crime — traumatized many of us who now live elsewhere.

I have never shot anyone, but I certainly fantasized about what retribution I might have taken if I had the chance to pay back those who nudged me, panhandled me aggressively, broke into my apartment or vandalized my car, to name just a few indignities I suffered at the hands of street thugs in the 1980's.

You seem to miss an important point. In my work there are various tradeoffs I accept in order to collect a paycheck. I take on stress, try to make cranky supervisors happy and try to keep happy those over whom I have some responsibility.

If I were a thief — and the individuals who approached Bernhard H. Goetz on the subway, including Darrell Cabey, admitted they were after money — one tradeoff I would have to accept is that in a violent occupation I must risk injury or death. If I'm not willing to make that tradeoff, I should get out of the business.

If Mr. Goetz is truly a racist whose only goal is to shoot members of

minority groups, his opportunities are nearly limitless. I haven't heard that he has done so since that day in 1984 when four thugs approached him in the subway, "asked" for money and then smiled in a way that could only mean that someone's blood would end up on the floor. Why should Mr. Goetz owe \$43 million for defending himself in that situation?

ROBERT F. MARTIN
Washington, April 24, 1996

To the Editor:

Re "The Goetz Verdict" (editorial, April 24): This is one more attempt to choose an aggressor and a victim in a case where all the principal players were aggressors and the victims have been overlooked. In 1987, the consensus was that Bernhard H. Goetz was a victim and that Darrell Cabey and his companions were aggressors. Today the reverse has been suggested.

Having had the experience of being on that No. 2 train that fateful day in December 1984, I contend that there were five aggressors and about 100 victims. As we entered the dimly lit car at 72d Street, which four individuals shouting epithets controlled, my girlfriend took my hand and moved us to the next car. Within minutes, there was terror

and confusion. Running from car to car, we were among the terrorized subway riders who were convinced that a shooter was randomly gunning down passengers. The train stopped between stations for five minutes. We crammed into the last car of the train waiting to be picked off by a crazed gunman.

We were victimized twice that day. We were victimized by four aggressive hoodlums who took pleasure in unnering fellow passengers and by a self-serving gunman who was acting out a personal vengeance without regard for the trauma he imposed on his co-riders.

DAVID KRUEGER
New York, April 24, 1996

To the Editor:

There is indeed a deep racism in America, but it is not only where Darrell Cabey's lawyer, Ronald L. Kubly, sees it (news article, April 24). Does anyone seriously believe that Bernhard H. Goetz would have been charged with a crime, much less sued, had he been black or his would-be attackers white? Mr. Goetz, the victim of multiple muggings, faced four armed young men with criminal records who demanded money. The worst injustice is that the courts then and now could be an instrument of the hoodlums. MICHAEL LEVINE
New York, April 24, 1996

Putting a Pickwick Cart Before the Horse

To the Editor:

Re Jane E. Brody's April 24 Personal Health column on new treatments for snoring:

Problems relating to obesity, with accumulation of fat in the neck, base of tongue, pharyngeal tissues and abdomen, have always included snoring and disturbed breathing in sleep.

Thirty years ago in medical school we studied the Pickwickian syndrome, named for the portly Dickens character, whose sufferers had poor sleep habits and daytime drowsiness. In the 1960's we were taught that weight loss would resolve this relatively rare problem.

Americans have gained a lot of weight in the last 30 years, so it's not surprising that snoring and sleep apnea are on the rise, too.

By treating snoring as a disease and not as a symptom of chronic overeating and underexercising, we may be doing a disservice to patients.

Now is the time to take a stand on the remodeling of American shapes, with stout, stocky, full-figured, large-boned and extra-large and so on being the politically correct terms today for obesity.



Gastroesophageal reflux (or acid indigestion), adult-onset diabetes and coronary artery disease are just three more major health problems related to poor dietary and exercise life styles. I long for the day when the medical associations emphasize attainment of health as opposed to the treatment of preventable diseases. RONALD HALWELL, M.D.
Bayonne, N.J., April 25, 1996
The writer is an otolaryngologist.

What Is the Answer to Free, Odious Speech?

To the Editor:

The thought censors seem to be active.

In one case, the Southern Poverty Law Center writes to bookstore chains and distributors urging them to think twice about selling "The Turner Diaries," a race-war novel (news article, April 20).

In another case, Jewish groups prevail on St. Martins Press not to publish a biography of Joseph Goebbels.

And we have the dismissal of Bob Grant, the radio talk-show host, after the broadcast of objectionable comments.

Whatever happened to free speech, as odious as some of it may be? Will we someday see the burning of books and videos in Times Square?

TREVOR DICK
New York, April 21, 1996

If we spent more time trying to understand those truths, the Bob Grants of this country would become irrelevant and the free-speech issue would be replaced by the apathy issue. JONATHAN B. ALTSCHULER
New York, April 24, 1996

At Naval Academy, Ethics Lapses Go Back Years

To the Editor:

Re your April 24 editorial on ethical lapses at the United States Naval Academy extending beyond the student body:

In 1993, the academy's athletic director, Jack Lengyel, dropped several minor sports teams, citing financial considerations and a student body reduced in size by Congressional mandate. Fencing — the oldest and most successful team at the academy — was discarded after 150 years of producing outstanding athletes. A paltry sum was saved.

In 1995 The Baltimore Sun reported that five months before the teams were dropped, the Navy Athletic Association spent more than \$300,000 on a condominium for the use of the athletic director, and sent 96 guests on an all-expenses-paid trip to the Army-Navy football game in Philadelphia.

Despite the publicity over these ethical anomalies, Mr. Lengyel continues to occupy the position of athletic director. JEFFREY R. TISHMAN
Glen Rock, N.J., April 24, 1996

To the Editor:

Re your April 21 news article on the United States Naval Academy's "systemic" problems:

The academy's superintendent, Adm. Charles R. Larson, is doing an excellent job in one respect: he is rooting out malefactors mercilessly. But he has a tougher job ahead, because a great reversal has taken place in society. Midshipmen come from a school system culture where character development gets short shrift.

The academy, standing as it does for decency, honor, honesty and the qualities that make a naval officer a leader, is now the counterexample. It takes the best from 12,000 applicants a year to form a plebe regiment of 1,200. From the grueling plebe summer right through to commissioning week, the honor concept is taught.

Nevertheless, even out of these best, a small number of miscreants will surface. CHARLES J. MORGAN
Stony Brook, L.I., April 21, 1996
The writer is a United States Naval Academy information officer.

To Keep Yankees, Eminent Domain Makes Sense

To the Editor:

While there is humor in Raymond J. Keating's and Matthew Carolan's April 22 Op-Ed article criticizing my proposal for use of eminent domain to keep the Yankees in New York, what is really comical is the alliance between conservative theorists and the team's main owner, George Steinbrenner, to milk the public treasury.

Eminent domain has been used before. Indeed, the Brooklyn Bridge became public property when the stock of the private corporation that built it was condemned by the legislature. It is a sound legal concept.

It is certainly the only option that doesn't leave us subject to the greed

of professional monopoly sports owners or bribery by neighboring states. And it will get Mr. Steinbrenner to the negotiating table as nothing else will. RICHARD L. BRODSKY
Member of Assembly, 96th Dist.
Albany, April 24, 1996

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Big-Screen Violence: Do Sensibilities Matter?

To the Editor:

Re "Hollywood Thinks You Talk Funny. Darn Tootin'" (Week in Review, April 21), on the movie "Fargo": Marge, the pregnant police chief, asks the sadistic multimurderer, "You did all this for a little bit of money?"

I ask the same question of the powers that be at Polygram Productions, who are probably congratulating themselves for having satisfied those who like to watch blood flowing freely over the movie screen.

Yah, the simple characters do and say dumb things, but the movie makers are not that naive. They know where the big bucks are.

So what if a few sensibilities are disturbed? So what if the story could be told without all that gore? Some of us in the moviegoing public would like to know that we are about to see violence for the sake of violence. Do we matter anymore to the movie makers? PEARL KNITTLE
NORMAN KNITTLE
Hewlett, L.I., April 21, 1996

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1991/10/15

They Payeth Much

By Mary Gordon

When I read that the fake pearls that belonged to Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis were sold at Sotheby's auction for \$211,500, I thought of the Gospel image of the pearl of great price. The merchant finds a pearl, sells everything he has and buys it. Then I thought of this sentence of Jesus's: "Where your treasure lies, there also doth your heart lie."

And then I thought of Mary Magdalene falling at the feet of Jesus, bathing His feet with precious ointment, drying them with her hair. It is Judas, the betrayer, who says the ointment should have been sold and the money given to the poor. Jesus rebukes him. The poor you always have with you. He says, suggesting a mystery at the heart of our understanding of money

Camelot's devout: they are rich but are they worthy?

and what it can buy. But is there room in these biblical stories for a \$48,875 tape measure or a humidifier sent by Milton Berle to John Kennedy inscribed, "Good luck — good smoking"? The humidifier sold for a half-million dollars, 200 times more than predicted. Was the Sotheby's auction a manifestation of an ancient pattern, or the American version of mad cow disease?

I began to think of how odd concepts of worth and value are. We offer something we call money, in the faith that some kind of equivalency is established, an equivalency we call value. "It's good value. It was worth it," we

Mary Gordon, a novelist, is the author of a forthcoming memoir, "The Shadow Man."

say. We sometimes say it was worth it even when we know we paid too much, because we understand we're paying not for the object we have purchased, but for the satisfaction of our desires. But at what price?

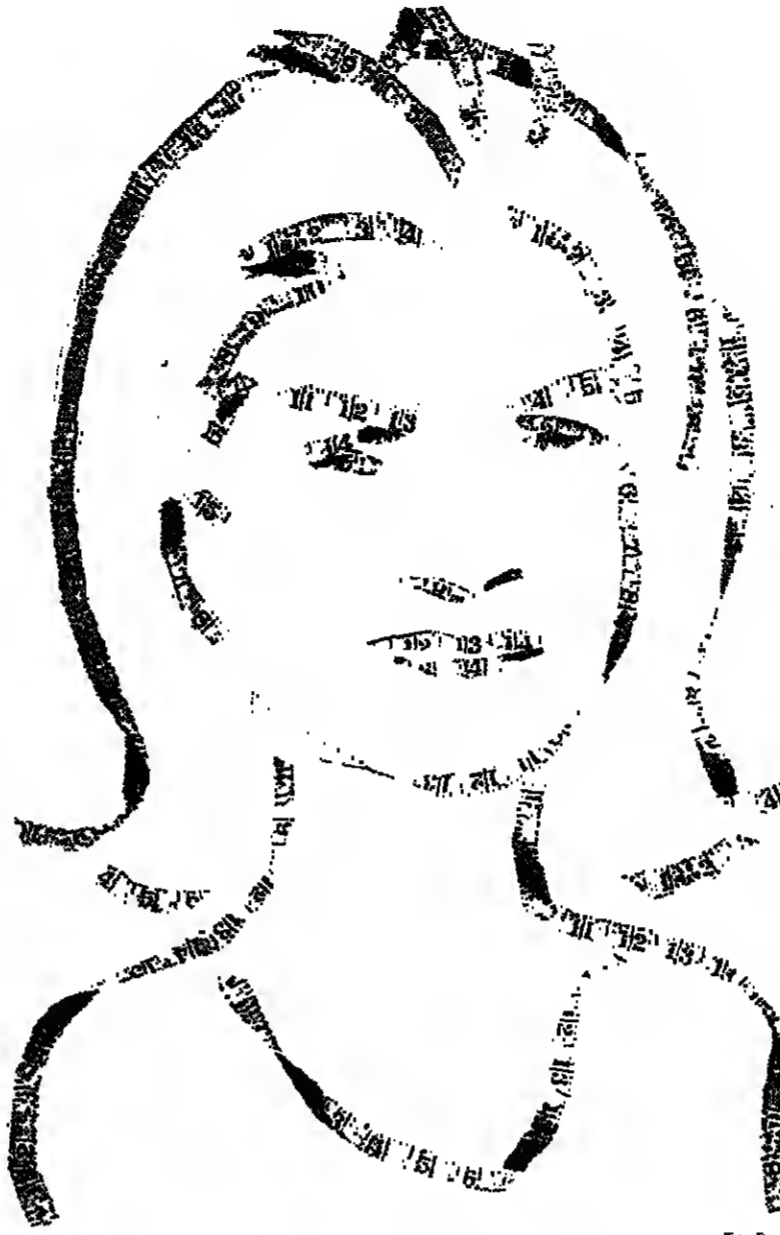
Everyone wishes for a world without empty bellies. But almost no one believes any longer in a world in which every human has enough money only for what he or she needs. To our shame, we probably don't even want one. It is sickening to think that 20 inner-city children could be sent to college for what that humidifier cost. But it may be equally sickening to imagine a world where somebody tells us what we are allowed to value, therefore what we are allowed to desire and what desires we are allowed to fulfill.

I don't understand paying hundreds of thousands of dollars for a car, but if I could I might do the same for a Matisse drawing. I can say that beauty is worth something, but what do I mean by worth? Or beauty? The owner of a Ferrari thinks the engine is a thing of beauty and a joy forever, and wouldn't know a Matisse from a mackerel. Which of us is right? And whether the money is spent on a car or a drawing, neither is sending poor kids to school.

All this said, the Kennedy auction seems rather a special case. What were people buying? Not faux pearls, not humidifiers. They were buying a spirit, an aura. They believed that by owning something that touched the flesh of the Kennedys in a continuous and intimate way, they were achieving a continuous intimacy with the Kennedys — especially Jackie, who represented not only glamour but also dignity, serenity and courage.

Do we think that if we can live with something that belonged to them, we are denying their deaths? They haven't left us. Jackie will open the door any moment now and show us the narrowness of her measured waist; any second J.F.K. will light up a cigar.

This primitive desire to be close to an object that touched the body of a worshiped figure makes me think of saints' relics: chips of bone or fingernail or even pieces of cloth that touched the holy body. These were believed to be very powerful. Prayers said before them carried special effi-



Tim Bower

cacy, could even release souls from purgatory. In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, reliquaries, encrusted with jewels, were created to provide appropriate containers for these precious objects, allowing a display at once reverent and making a point about the wealth of the owner.

Was the Kennedy auction a secular search for the sacred, intersecting, as these searches so often do, with questions of position and of wealth? The poor did not have relics. They might kiss, through glass, a sliver of sacred bone. But they could not own it. Inevitably, my mother's voice also

comes into my head, a working-class, no-nonsense voice saying, "It doesn't pay." This phrase was applied to everything from buying a fur coat, to going out on a hot day, to having an operation, to continuing a quarrel with the in-laws. It was sometimes a very sane restraining device and sometimes an excuse not to risk. It created a world where loss was kept at a minimum, but where pleasure was spent and beauty thought a waste of time. This was a just world, but it feared both ostentation and desire — often linking the two.

The relationship between desire and justice is morally vexed, which is why the Kennedy auction is so hard to come to terms with. It combines a reverence for something at least some of us believe is worth revering with an excess that calls into question the ideals of these people we revere. And then there is the question of decorum. Or, as my mother would say, "Enough is enough."

What the Constitution Requires

By William J. Brennan Jr.

In 1966, Dwight D. Eisenhower appointed me to the Supreme Court. Now, at 90, I am frequently asked to identify the Court's greatest achievements in my 34-year tenure. High on my list is the protection of individual rights and human dignity.

Our Constitution is a charter of human rights, dignity and self-determination. I approached my responsibility of interpreting it as a 20th-century American, for the genius of the Constitution rests not in any static meaning it may have had in a world dead and gone but in its evolving character. Only from this perspective has the Court been able to erect some of liberty's most enduring monuments, such as the decision

William J. Brennan Jr. retired from the Supreme Court in 1990.

Abolish the death penalty.

(In 1954) that a public school cannot slam its doors on pupils because of their color.

In my time, it was the living Constitution that required the police to inform the accused of their fundamental rights of defense (in 1966). Only the freedom to reinterpret constitutional language enabled us to conclude (in 1962 and 1964) that each American should have an equal vote and (in 1970) that the Government may not cut a welfare recipient's lifetime without holding a hearing.

But we do not yet have justice for all who do not partake in the abundance of American life. One area of law more than any other besmirches the constitutional vision of human

dignity. My old friend Justice Harry Blackmun called it the "machinery of death." It is the death penalty.

The statistics paint a chilling portrait of racial discrimination on death row. Yet the ultimate problem is more fundamental. The barbaric death penalty violates our Constitution. Even the most vile murderer does not release the state from its obligation to respect dignity, for the state does not honor the victim by emulating his murderer. Capital punishment's fatal flaw is that it treats people as objects to be toyed with and discarded. But I refuse to despair. One day the Court will outlaw the death penalty. Permanently.

The task of nurturing the constitutional ideal of dignity does not rest solely with the nine Justices, or even the cadre of Federal and state judges. We all share the burden.

If I have drawn one lesson in 90 years, it is this: To strike a blow for freedom allows a man to walk a little taller and raise his head a little higher. While he can, he must.

Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

The Envelope, Please

Last week's round of Mideast diplomacy produced both winners and losers. Here's how the judges scored it.

Hafez al-Assad: Loser. Yes, I know, the conventional wisdom is that the Syrian President, that wily 'ol fox, once again got the better of everybody. He had the foreign ministers of France, Iran, Russia, Italy and the U.S. all jostling for his attention. But you only win in international affairs if you translate your tactical gains into some strategic objective, and Mr. Assad's problem is that he is all tactics and no strategy. He keeps reminding us how indispensable he is for a peace he never defines. Perhaps the way to make sense of Mr. Assad's behavior is to realize that rather than wanting Shimon Peres re-elected, so the peace process would continue, he may actually prefer to see hard-liner Bibi Netanyahu elected, so that the peace process would wither. Then Mr. Assad wouldn't have to face up to his bad choices: Do a deal for the Golan at a time when Syria is relatively weak vis-a-vis Israel or walk away from the peace process and be another Libya.

Mr. Assad may also prefer a hard-liner in power in Israel, because he would prefer a U.S.-Israel relationship of the George Bush-Yitzhak Shamir variety, with all its acrimony, rather than the current warm ties. But Mr. Assad better be careful that he doesn't provoke another Bush-Saddam relationship — with him as Saddam. That is the real cost of these past two weeks for Mr. Assad. More people are onto his game. He can't be the solution to the problem in Lebanon without also having been the problem in the first place. And if he

Who wins in Lebanon?

keeps trying to make himself indispensable, he might one day discover that he has made himself intolerable.

Warren Christopher: Winner/Loser. The U.S. Secretary of State persevered to produce a new cease-fire along the Israel-Lebanon border. In doing that, he saved many civilian lives and, maybe, salvaged the reelection hopes of Mr. Peres. But let's be clear about what happened here. What Mr. Christopher did was prevent a disaster from being the final result of his last three years of Middle East diplomacy and 20-odd trips to Syria — trips that were supposed to be forging a final peace treaty between Syria and Israel, not another cease-fire in Lebanon. Mr. Christopher negotiated this same basic cease-fire three years ago. If he treats this new cease-fire as some big success, then he will be a failure. But if he takes it as an indication that he must rethink his Syria strategy — and the toughness and intensity that will be required of him to actually move Syria into a peace treaty with Israel — then he can be a winner.

Shimon Peres: Possible Winner. The fighting in Lebanon was a reminder to the Israeli public of how unlivable the Mideast is without a peace process. The old Mideast is as bad as we remember. That reminder just

might nudge the Israeli floating vote toward Mr. Peres and the peace process, and away from hard-line Likud Party leader Mr. Netanyahu, whose associates last week were advocating that Israel occupy "more" of Lebanon. That alone should be enough for every draft-age Israeli to vote Labor.

Yasir Arafat: The Big Winner. Mr. Arafat stepped up to his responsibilities and got the Palestine National Council to abrogate those elements of its charter calling for Israel's destruction. This breathed new life into the peace process and into Mr. Arafat's own credibility. In return, Mr. Peres's Labor Party ended its opposition to a Palestinian state. By changing the charter in the midst of the fighting in Lebanon and on Israel's Independence Day, Mr. Arafat also snubbed Mr. Assad. It was a signal that Mr. Assad no longer holds any veto over the Palestinians and that unlike the Syrian leader, Mr. Arafat isn't afraid to take his people into a new future.

The Lebanese: Losers. As always, the poor Lebanese were the rope in this Syrian-Israeli tug of war.

The Foreign Ministers of Russia, France and Italy: Losers All. Their Mideastern shuttle, in the shadow of Mr. Christopher's, only complicated the diplomacy. It was a pathetic attempt to re-assert their diplomatic relevancy, after having stood by last year while the U.S. resolved the Bosnia crisis in Europe's own backyard. There is no way Israel, or Syria, would ever turn over its security interests to a European broker. Advice to the Euros: Get a life. Stick to dealing with problems like a common currency and mad cow disease.

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

Cosmic Girl

I went to Cosmopolitan once, looking for freelance work. An editor gave me some red binders filled with story ideas. The ideas were oddly reversible.

You could choose "I Had an Affair With My Best Friend's Father" or "I Had an Affair With My Father's Best Friend."

You could choose "My Fling With My Gynecologist/Psychiatrist/Dentist" or "My Year of Celibacy."

Or: "I Am a Puerto Rican Cosmo Girl," "I Am a Black Cosmo Girl," "I Am a Handicapped Cosmo Girl."

Helen Gurley Brown always understood you stick with a winning formula.

The editor of one of the most successful magazines of all time had never won a prize for editorial content at the National Magazine Awards. But last week, she was honored for her commercial success, named to the editors' Hall of Fame.

She put the glass award on a table outside her office, underneath a picture of the young Christie Brinkley glistening in a gold bikini.

"I parted company with the feminists in the 70's when it was thought that you had to wear cherokeef gray turtleneck sweaters and no makeup," said Ms. Brown, wearing Adolfo and jangly gold jewelry. "I was accused of hurting the cause because I was still talking about women as though they were sex objects. But to be a sex object is a wonderful thing and you're to be pitied if you aren't one."

We are sitting in her office, exactly the way you would imagine for the editor who has spent her life urging young women to unleash the inner tiger. There is a leopard-skin rug, pink flowered wallpaper, makeup mirrors on the wall, a candle on the desk, Chanel perfume by the window, and "Sammy Davis Jr.'s Greatest Hits" by the CD player.

Even at 73, Ms. Brown is relentlessly girlish. Her magazine, which also has a case of arrested development, has been running the same stories ("How Big Should the Big O Be?" and "Just a Good Friend or Is She After Your Man?") since I was in college. And it's still the best-selling magazine on college campuses.

In September 1992, the cover blurb was "How to Hold a Man by Giving Him His Freedom." In May '93, it was "How to Hold a Man by Giving Him His Freedom." One bow to modernity: "Men Tell On-Line What Scares Them Silly About Commitment."

Hearst Corporation officials are easing Ms. Brown out, embarrassed

by her downplaying of the AIDS threat for women and her pooh-poohing of sexual harassment, and replacing her with a younger editorial model. In this less-permissive era, Hearst fretted that the Cosmo Girl, fond of lingerie and married men, was as passé as the Playboy Bunny.

But they can't get rid of Ms. Brown so easily. The Cosmo Girl has permeated the culture. She is, after all, just a tarted-up Cinderella, always believing happiness is just one makeover away. At any newsstand you'll see her man-crazy, sex-obsessed image endlessly, tiresomely replicated, even for the teen set.

On the May cover of YM: "Go Get HIM! Guy-snagging Moves That Really Work." New Woman: "Take

She won't grow up.

Our Love Quiz!" and "Food to Put Him in the Mood." Mademoiselle: "Your Sex Life: 5 Ways to Rock Your World." Woman's Own: "Please Touch! 11 Forgotten Sex Hot Zones." Shape: "The Science of Seduction." "I used to have all the sex to myself," Ms. Brown sighs.

She stayed in amber so long that women circled back her way. Some go to elaborate lengths — breast implants, collagen shots, Wonderbras — to attract men. The sultry fabrics Ms. Brown always promoted — zebra, leopard-skin, satin — are now common at the office.

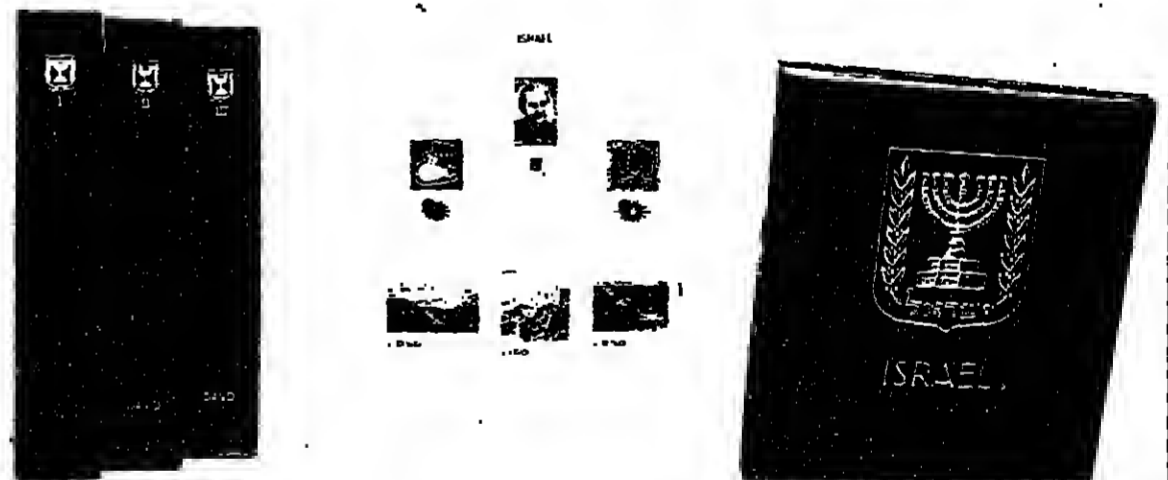
In an interview with Geraldine Baum of The Los Angeles Times, Debbie Stoller, the editor of BUST, a popular new zine for "girls," complained that "Helen Gurly Brown" is stuck in a Valley of the Dolls world.

But the young editor does homage to Ms. Brown, even if she doesn't know it. She says that the early feminists were "women" who wanted to be like men, while now grown-up "girls" like Madonna and Courtney Love, want the freedom to be "girly" for their own pleasure.

Ms. Brown says: "Even when we grow up, we are all girls. Girl is the feminine side, the playful side, the hopeful side."

Even when Ms. Brown leaves, don't expect the Cosmo girl to grow up. She's too profitable just the way she is.

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F I L M

For Amanda Plummer, It's Bring on the Eccentrics

By JAMIE DIAMOND

WHEN I HEARD the story before: Lonely young woman in a nowhere job falls for exciting killer; a road trip with the requisite mayhem ensues. The new British film "Butterfly Kiss," which opens on Friday, has its lonely young woman, all right, but the exciting killer is played by Amanda Plummer.

Nipples pierced, spouting biblical quotations, Ms. Plummer's Eunice may be tough for an audience to take. And that's not all: the character is also masochistic, sadistic, bisexual and homicidal.

As Ms. Plummer, 39, puts it in her quavering, breakable-china voice: "I don't play roles everybody likes. I'd rather have a career I'm proud of. Like everyone else, I need to eat. But I'm a very unbusinesslike person, and I keep my price low. I'm not a mass product. I'm not everyone's cup of tea."

It's true that in the late '70s, when she appeared in her first Off Broadway play, "Artichoke," the critic John Simon likened her to Shirley Temple doing Boris Karloff. (Of her Eunice in "Butterfly Kiss" one might she sounds like Tinkerbell doing Travis Bickle.) In 1979, she was in her first film, "Cattle Annie and Little Britches." Pauline Kael, writing about her in that film in *The New Yorker*, said, "The only other actress I've seen make a movie debut so excitingly, weirdly lyrical was Katharine Hepburn."

On Broadway, Ms. Plummer went on to win Tony Awards for "A Taste of Honey" in 1981 and "Agnes of God" in 1982. The following year, after Sidney Lumet directed her in the film "Daniel," he compared her to the young Marlon Brando.

Still, the next time America's darling, Meg Ryan, turns down a role, it's not likely to go to Amanda Plummer. Ms. Plummer specializes in playing incandescent eccentrics. Like Lydia, the bashful object of Robin Williams's affections in the 1991 film "The Fisher King." Or Honey-Bunny, the twitchy, trigger-happy would-be robber in "Pulp Fic-

tion." Or Eunice, the self-mutilating mass murderer in "Butterfly Kiss," in which she stars with Saskia Reeves.

"I'm lucky I'm not a babe who wants to do character roles," says Ms. Plummer, who drives an un-babelike 1979 Volvo and lives in a rented house in Coldwater Canyon in Los Angeles with the English screenwriter Paul Chart. "I like taking a path into new country, and I always take the darker path. Not because it's dark but because there's a secret there that you can share when you get out. That's what I liked as a kid. That's how I approach my work. With a face like mine, it's lucky I have a heart that likes that."

"I don't find anything interesting about the choices a character faces in major films or theater projects," she adds. "The characters are just cut-out dolls with the American flag sewn on them."

As the only child of a brief marriage between the American actor Tammy Grimes and the British actor Christopher Plummer, Ms. Plummer had an unusual upbringing. "My mother was larger than life," she says. "She was very glamorous, which is probably why I was a tomboy. Fortunately, now when I wear something nice I don't lose my identity." With her mother frequently on the road and her father in England, she often lived with her grandparents in New England.

"My grandmother was schizophrenic," she says. "I'd look into her eyes and see a self that had no opinion. I was allowed to say or feel anything."

But Ms. Plummer preferred to say things in writing and feel things in books. She was anchored to the Earth in ways that most people would not recognize. "I had a strong propensity, which I still have, to be invisible," she says. "In grade school, I'd try to disappear and become formless. I lived in a very imaginary world. I loved poetry and wrote my first novel when I was 9. It was about a little girl and the people she met in the woods."

"I was going to be the hero of my own life. When you live in a world of make-believe it's not because something is bad but because something is more in the make-believe. Every-

thing was more heightened, more love, more death. I'm an opera. If I didn't act, I'd be all over the place."

Because she came from a family of theatrical luminaries, her decision to act was a complicated one. "It's not easy to follow in the parents' footsteps," she says. "Now it's O.K., but it wasn't at first. I'd hear a lot of, 'That's not your voice, that's my voice. You sound too much like me; you're doing that on purpose.'"

When, at the age of 21, she made her Off Broadway debut, she so impressed Lamont Johnson that he asked her to audition for his film "Cattle Annie."

"She came in to read in a torn man's shirt, torn jeans and hair hanging all around her face," he says. "Not improper grooming. No grooming, period. She was smoking furiously, and I kept wondering if she was going to set herself on fire. So I went over and pulled her hair back to see her marvelous bone structure, and it was like I raped her. Her eyes got frightened, and she withdrew. I said, 'But we can't see you acting,' and she completely changed."

"Ask her to be a character in a story and she's on fire," he continues. "She walks on crumbling ground, and she knows it, and yet she keeps right on taking the next step. It's the danger you smell around people who live on the edge that makes them exciting. And she's got plenty of that."

Elizabeth Ashley, who played a psychiatrist opposite Ms. Plummer's pregnant nun in "Agnes of God," says: "She's one of those people who has no physical skin, no calluses, no shell. She doesn't act; she absorbs."

To play Eunice, Ms. Plummer, not a British bisexual serial killer herself, had quite a bit of absorbing to do: she had to become a woman who spoke with a strong Blackpool accent, chopped off a man's head, engaged in explicit nude love scenes, and wore chains dangling from rings that pierced some very sensitive parts of her body. (Through movie magic, the piercings only looked real.)

"Eunice's sense of isolation, her feeling of being at odds with the



Amanda Plummer in Los Angeles—In "Butterfly Kiss" she sounds like Tinkerbell doing Travis Bickle.

world and other people, her wanting people to recognize who she is but feeling a great distance between them—maybe that's what appealed to Amanda about the character," suggested the film's director, Michael Winterbottom. "And why she's so good at the role."

"We wanted a story of two opposites, one person being aggressive and strong and forcing people to pay attention, and one being passive and quiet and being ignored. We thought it would be too crude if one were a man and one were a woman. We thought it would be nicer if they were of the same sex."

small roles in commercial ones. Lawrence Bender, the producer of "Pulp Fiction," thinks that this trend took off when low-budget movies stopped being synonymous with exploitation movies.

"In a low-budget film, there are fewer financial pressures, and an actor like Amanda can take more risks," he says. "She's a chameleon, and a chameleon you can't take your eyes off."

As for the roots of Eunice's character, "bisexuality was not a central issue," he says.

Like a number of other actors, Ms. Plummer has chosen to pursue big roles in small movies rather than

Adrift in Warhol's World

By STEPHEN HOLDEN

GAZING desperately into the gloom, scrunching my 23-year-old features into an expression I hoped would convey the essence of tormented poetic melancholy, I chain-smoked Benson & Hedges cigarettes, took dramatic little gulps of bourbon from a paper cup and fought back imaginary tears.

Deepening the mood of romantic agony was the voice of Dionne Warwick sobbing "A House Is Not a Home." It wasn't the soundtrack I had asked for when Andy Warhol invited me one evening in the fall of 1964 to drop by his Factory on East 47th Street and make a movie in which I could do anything I wanted. The scene-setting musical accompaniment for this 20-minute silent film of the sensitive young poet "brooding" was supposed to have been Mahler.

But hey! This was my motion picture debut, and I wasn't about to ruin it by being a finicky prima donna. And anyway the director was nowhere to be seen.

The only other person in the loft was Warhol's assistant, Gerard Malanga, who aimed the camera at the couch where I struck a "maudlin" pose. I prayed that I wasn't making a complete fool of myself.

In those days, I was an aspiring young writer on the fringe of a bohemian circle that orbited around the poet Frank O'Hara. One evening a bunch of us found ourselves at a party given by the poet Barbara Guest where Warhol, who was still an underground figure in the art world, happened to be in attendance. I had already heard about his Factory, where anybody could drop in and be given a screen test, and I invited myself over.

Those interested in the history of the Factory and in Warhol's personality in the 1960's will find surprisingly accurate reconstructions of both in Mary Harron's new film, "I Shot Andy Warhol," which opens on Wednesday and will be shown at the Cannes International Film Festival next week. This semi-docudrama stars Lill Taylor as Valerie Solanas, who shot and seriously wounded Warhol on June 3, 1968. Solanas, the angry feminist founder of SCUM (the Society for Cutting Up Men), was furious at Warhol for not recognizing her playwright "genius."

Although my untitled 20 minutes of preening angst was made three and a half years before these events, the look and feeling of the place were pretty much the same. It was a bohemian open house and a playpen for misfits who were legends in their own minds. Even in 1964, the atmosphere was charged with a mysterious, slightly scary buzz. When I asked a fellow Factory visitor to explain, he summed it up in one

word: amphetamine.

It was an atmosphere that probably had to explode sooner or later, since Warhol's film aesthetic was propelled by a voyeurism that dared each new wave of "superstars" to go further in self-exposure than the one before.

Warhol, who was only in his mid-



Valerie Solanas in 1968—She did shoot Andy Warhol.

30's when I met him, was almost handsome, with a cleft chin, a sensual mouth and a shock of silver-blond hair that slanted down over one eyebrow like that in the famous photograph of Truman Capote on the back of "Other Voices, Other Rooms." But the fact that the hair was a wig, his skin pasty and blotched lent him an aura of neurotic ill health.

There was something creepy in the contradiction between Warhol's boyish enthusiasm and the attitude of stylized ennui through which he filtered it. If words like "fabulous!" and "wow!" were typical of his responses to people and to the gossip he devoured with an insatiable fascination, they were uttered in the voice of a faux-innocent little boy.

Jared Harris's impersonation of the artist in the movie captures Warhol's verbal style with eerie perfection. He had the speech mannerisms of a bashful child, stumbling along on ers, ums, goshes and gees. Was this the carefully cultivated affectation of a jaded fashion maven or the genuinely fearful manner of an arty high school kid who grew up feeling like a freak and an outcast?

After the filming, Warhol appeared and the two of us ambled uptown, he to his apartment somewhere in the East 90's and I to the \$30-a-month tenement I shared with a friend on East 62d Street. As we strolled up First Avenue, he stopped and stood transfixed in front of a supermarket window, behind which glared a stack of Day-Glo colored Brillo boxes.

Then he turned to me and gasped, "Aren't they beautiful?"

I wondered if he was joking. But in a matter of months, Warhol's first exhibition of Brillo boxes created a pop-art sensation.

I never saw my movie, although I heard it was one of many films projected onto a wall of the Balloon Farm, an early mixed-media environment that Warhol installed in an East Village nightclub a couple of years later. Warhol had assured me over the telephone that I was "terrific" and had "great screen presence," but I knew I would be mortified watching myself indulge in a self-dramatizing sulk.

Despite my qualms about the Factory, I did drop into it several more times. During one visit, the documentary film maker Emile De Antonio consumed an entire bottle of booze while the camera trailed him around for more than an hour. The sight of someone losing control and lurching around in front of the camera only confirmed my suspicion that an invitation to appear in a Warhol film was a request to get naked and go crazy.

By the time of my last visit to the Factory, in the spring of 1965, what had been a bohemian open house only months earlier was developing into a high-powered scene. The occasion was a party for Rudolf Nureyev, then the toast of New York. I remember watching the dancer strut out of the elevator, the quintessence of princely hauteur, with an entourage of handsome young men. Under the blaze of his charisma, the party's three other star guests—Montgomery Clift, Judy Garland and Tennessee Williams—seemed to wilt, as they huddled together on the couch, looking intimidated and rather wrecked.

Warhol never fully recovered from the wounds Solanas inflicted. The last time we talked, at a party a decade after I first met him, he was a shriveled, ashen shell of his former self, a zombie who seemed isolated within his chattering circle of hangers-on. His dead eyes looked like windows inviting people to jump through them. And many had taken the plunge. In his passivity I sensed a malevolence.

It took 25 years for the rest of the world to catch on to what Warhol already understood about fame and the power of pop iconography in America. Nowadays, on any morning you can flip from channel to channel and find the descendants of Warhol's "superstars" getting naked, going crazy and ripping open their lives for Jerry Springer, Richard Bey, Sally Jessy Raphael and any number of other talk-show ringmasters. I can almost hear Warhol clucking his approval at each soubharing, tear-drenched exhibition. "You were terrific," he would say in his husked, oh-wow voice. "You have great screen presence."

WOOD PLAY

BY DIANE C. BALDWIN / EDITED BY WILL SHORTZ

ACROSS

- Public
- Vending machine items
- "Here I go..."
- Province around Peiping
- News brief
- Shows how it happened
- Quickly, in a grove?
- Forest friend?
- Punches in
- Guiding light: Var.
- Guanaco's kin
- Demoselle
- First tiers
- Cutup
- Like the north wind
- Dunces
- Track passes
- Weather map details
- 320 rods
- World atlas abbr.
- 1960's sports org.
- "Slow down"
- Dogcatcher's quarry
- Wing shape
- "Cry—River"
- 1987 Best Actress
- Soot mark
- It stands for something
- Stray
- Listen to the trees?
- Made a basketball foul
- Girasol
- Disdainful one
- Out the window
- Turns over a new leaf
- Logger's "yes"?
- Must, with "to"
- Highway diversion
- Clown's props
- News
- Writer LeShan
- Ivy-covered
- Bibliographical suffix
- Longtime Steelworkers chief
- Custom
- Crimson rival
- Like some proportions
- Magazine
- Pad
- According to Isaiah, it "shall lie down with the kid"
- Popular record label
- 1956 perfect game pitcher Don
- Take in
- Speak to deaf ears
- Belafonte forte
- Trellis climber
- Like Lindsay Wagner, in 70's TV
- Timber wolf's little cousin?
- Each and every

DOWN

- "What have we here?"
- Encyc. part
- Prefix with -taph
- Makes plain
- After that
- One down at the heels?
- Sports figures?
- Pop
- Workshop
- Ladies of La Mancha
- Kind of student
- Collared or jellied dishes
- North American hawk
- Like some bandits
- Slim
- Protection money paid to the police
- Get-together: Abbr.
- Barcelona bruin
- Milks, in a way
- Electronic game name
- 27
- Like some hearts
- Casual shoe
- Arboreal consensus?
- Equine hue
- Hard-to-find shade giver?
- Oscar, for one
- Certifying exams
- Baby docs
- Song from "Cymbeline"
- Music holder
- Viewed
- Strong java
- Like pipe tobacco
- Hall-of-Famer Slaughter
- Macgregor, for Rob Roy
- Sabers' features
- Pursues
- George V's wife
- "Oklahoma!" aunt
- Gay
- One way to order whisky
- Hopalong Cassidy's portrayer
- N.F.L.'s—Rozelle Award
- "Ivanhoe" damsel
- Caper
- Members of a diaspora
- Serious
- Beverage nut
- Some of Bartlett's quotations
- Declines
- Forbes competitor
- Pets
- Part of N.C.A.A. Abbr.
- Rouge or noir, e.g.
- On duty
- Stemming
- Phrase of agreement
- Cattle-grazing area
- Kind of battery
- Easter festivity
- Sun Devils' sch.
- 98
- Nap sacks
- Suffix with phosphor
- It's stingo, in British lingo
- Soother
- "Bonne —"
- Modern office needs
- Before
- Woodlawn, e.g.: Abbr.
- Cable choice
- ho
- Chicago-Derron dir.
- 1937 song
- 114
- It Rain?"

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

SUN	CELANO	ACERS	GRAND
ALE	HAUTE	POLAR	GRAND
SUNDAY	NIGHTLIVE	LENTIL	
LOUIS	VAG	USED	ANITA
TAROT	TERMS	BRACES	
ATAD	CASE	URA	MOIST
RESEARCH	PBS	MOIST	
ISS	JONNY	FLIDE	USE
DOGYOROV	UNSER	EVER	
AMOR	HAILE	REAR	SEE
PLATEAU	NEBIT	TSTRAF	
KID	TRAIL	NEHRU	TRAF
EMO	WISSE	EVERARD	LANG
OWE	WATER	SERFORD	
OBY	SCAM	FOR	FABER
FLUKY	SEA	HIVA	ELLE
CAROLS	AZOV	ANT	GREEN
OTICA	AZOV	ANT	GREEN
PLATO	SUPERBOWL	UNDAY	
SILVER	PUPPY	STIONS	PEN

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When does a crime involve moral turpitude?

LAW REPORT
ASHER FELIX LANDAU

In the Supreme Court, sitting as a Court of Civil Appeals, before Justices Mishael Cheshin, Yitzhak Zamir, and Dalia Dornier, in the matter of Haim Cohen, appellant, versus Shmuel Cohen, Lior Horev, and the Labor Party, respondents (C.A. 2211/96).

BETWEEN 1980 and 1985 the appellant, Haim Cohen, a public servant and member of the Labor Party, committed three offences of accepting bribes and two of theft. Legal proceedings against him started in 1986, and his appeal to the Supreme Court against his District Court conviction was dismissed in 1993. He was sentenced to three months' conditional imprisonment.

The respondents, Shmuel Cohen and Lior Horev moved the party's supreme tribunal to cancel the appellant's membership. The tribunal, however, dismissed the application.

The party then accepted the appellant's application for inclusion in its primaries list, and the above respondents appealed to the party's petitions committee to cancel that decision.

The appeal was dismissed, and those respondents then applied to the Jerusalem District Court to remove the appellant from the list.

The court allowed the application, ruling that the committee's decision was in breach of section 6.1.4. of the party's election constitution of January 20, 1996. Under that section a candidate could not be included in the primaries if he had been convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude, unless 10 years had passed since the conviction, or seven years since he served his sentence.

The appellant then appealed to the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court, in giving

judgment, said the appellant's conviction of theft was not discussed in the appeal. The question arose, however, whether accepting bribes was a crime involving moral turpitude. Citing precedents including Udah's case (H.C.251/88, *The Jerusalem Post Law Reports*, page 84), it reiterated the two tests to be applied — the circumstances of the particular case, and the purpose of the relevant legislation.

Section 60(a) of the party's constitution, the court continued, empowered the tribunal to cancel a person's membership if he was convicted of a crime involving moral turpitude. However, it had decided in the appellant's case that in view of the constitution's objects and the extremely long period that had elapsed since the crimes were committed, they did not fall within that category.

The petitions committee chairman, it said, regarded herself bound by the tribunal's decision (although she disagreed with it), and the committee followed the tribunal's ruling. Needless to add, appellant's counsel strongly urged the court to do likewise.

THE SUPREME COURT, in dealing with the appellant's appeal against his conviction, had emphasized the gravity of a public servant accepting bribes, and the necessity of imposing a sentence of actual imprisonment unless special circumstances justified a lighter penalty. It then ruled clearly that the appellant's crimes of accepting bribes did involve moral turpitude. However, it declined to send him to prison only because of the many years that had elapsed since the crimes were committed.

The court now wished to emphasize in the clearest terms its rejection of the tribunal's

finding that the appellant's accepting bribes did not involve moral turpitude. At the same time, there was much substance in its consideration of the inordinate delays in the court proceedings which followed, and the long period since the crimes were committed.

The question now remained what course the court should follow. It had in the past expressed its reluctance to intervene in decisions of voluntary associations' tribunals. Members of such bodies were presumed to have submitted in advance to such decisions, and it was inappropriate for them to request the court to interfere with decisions they did not like.

Citing precedents, the court ruled that only in a few limited and defined circumstances would it intervene — where the tribunal had exceeded its powers, or where it had violated the rules of natural justice. It was of course possible that other completely exceptional cases could arise.

Only after anxious consideration did the court decide not to intervene in the present case. The moral turpitude remained, and the tribunal erred in ruling otherwise.

On the other hand, it had not exceeded its powers, nor had it violated the rules of natural justice. Moreover, there were no other exceptional circumstances which justified the court's intervention.

For the above reasons the appeal was allowed, and the District Court judgment was set aside.

Uzi Atzmon and Yosef Alon appeared for the appellant; Eitan Peleg (Pomeranz) appeared for Shmuel Cohen and Horev; and Ehud Segev and Yitzhak Herzog appeared for the Labor Party.

The judgment was given on March 24, 1996.

The Palestinian Authority Postal Service is slowly but surely getting on its feet. Jay Levinson reports

WANT to send a letter to Saudi Arabia? If you paste an Israeli stamp on the envelope and drop it into a mail collection box in Tel Aviv, it will not get very far. But, there is a solution — the Palestinian Authority Postal Service.

Put a PA stamp on that same letter, place it in a mail box in the PA, and off the envelope goes towards its destination. Plain and simple? Yes, but after a rocky start.

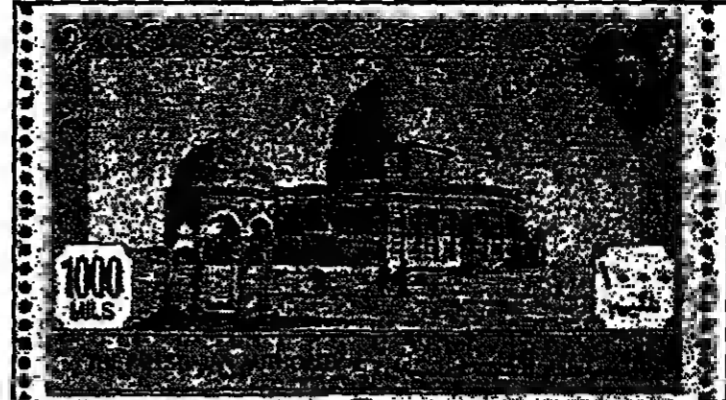
Following the Oslo accords, the nascent PA issued a short set of four definitive stamps showing its coat of arms. It then ordered the printing of a series of postage stamps bearing denominations from 5 to 1000 mils (5 agorot to NIS 10) and showing the national flag and various historical sites.

However, Israel objected to the monetary unit reminiscent of the old British Mandate coinage. As a result, the stamps in the large series were printed over with the same values, now called fils.

According to Ahmad Gharib, a veteran Gaza postal employee who started working there before the Six Day War when Egypt ruled Gaza and who now heads the PA Philatelic Bureau, the relatively few mils stamps which were not overprinted are still valid for postage, but only within the PA.

They may not be used for postage from the PA to Israel or to destinations abroad.

The next PA stamp series, released in 1995, also had its problems. The Oslo accords explicitly specify that all stamps must clearly carry the words



At the top, a PA stamp bears the monetary unit of mils, which Israel objected to because of its affiliation with the coinage during the British Mandate; a stamp with a newer design (center) replaces mils with fils; another problematic stamp (left) reproduces the motifs of the British Mandate (left).

which showed national garb, yet another series was released shortly before spring with a Christmas motif.

"You have to understand," Gharib explains. "There are difficulties. We are just getting started. We missed the deadline."

Still, the Philatelic Bureau, headquartered at the Gaza Central Post Office, is progressing little by little. Gharib now can process requests and standing orders for stamps, but there are no "official" first day covers or post-office opening envelopes. The accounting is also strictly manual and only

cash sent by registered mail is accepted. According to Gharib, the banking system is not yet set up to handle check clearance quickly.

In addition, not all stamps have been distributed to the post offices, so "buying everything" does not insure acquiring full sets of all issues. There are stickers for airmail and registration, but there are still no aerograms, postcards, or international reply coupons.

Another catch is that service is restricted to first-class letters, meaning one can't send a package.

Kamil Shaath, director-general of the PA Ministry of Communications and Post, said that in addition to the objective problems of starting the postal service from zero, the closure makes it even more difficult to get the service up and running. "No, I am not talking politics," he explained. "We cannot send stamps from Gaza to the post office in Nablus... We cannot move the mails."

However, even prior to the closure, letters did not move quickly to or from the PA. A registered letter from Jerusalem to Gaza took three weeks to arrive.

Still, the mail is moving now. Originally, all PA mail was forwarded via Israel. Now, most foreign mail takes this route, but items to Arab countries are sent directly from the West Bank via Jordan or from Gaza via Egypt.

For those interested in starting a PA stamp collection, it is still not clear how to collect the stamps. Singles are no problem and there aren't any plate blocks. However, the upper gutter row has PA written in Arabic; the lower gutter has the same text in English. Only time will tell if these rows will become valuable to collectors, as the tab rows on Israeli issues have.

Crossing into the PA can be an interesting experience in itself, but it has mixed rewards if you want to buy stamps. Postal clerks, most of whom had worked for the Israeli postal system, tend to be friendly as they curiously size up Israeli customers.

US smugglers having a field day with CFCs

EARTHLY CONCERNS
DYORA BEN SHAUL

ALTHOUGH drugs and weapons are still the two things that figure most prominently in international smuggling, a new commodity on the smugglers' list has been the traffic in CFCs, which are banned in many Western countries — most recently the US and Canada.

According to the Miami Customs Office, these prohibited chemicals now rank second only to drugs on the US smuggling list.

Chlorofluorocarbons, or CFCs, are principally used as a propellant in aerosol sprays and as a coolant in refrigeration and air-conditioning systems. They are in especially high demand for small air conditioners in vehicles.

They have, however, been implicated as one of the most serious causes of depletion of the ozone layer, which surrounds the earth and limits the amount of ultra-violet light that enters the atmosphere.

This ozone layer already shows serious depletion, and the damage is continuing and getting worse.

According to the terms of the Montreal Protocol of 1987, which was framed to help prevent the depletion of the ozone layer, all local production of CFCs in the US and Canada was to cease by January this year, although some companies would be allowed to continue the production of this material for sales to developing countries, where there is an additional 10-year grace period before they stop production and/or use.

The alternatives to CFCs for refrigeration purposes, and in some cases to their use in aerosol containers, are mostly more expensive, often require major changes in the refrigeration system and, in certain conditions, marginally less effective.

This has created a large demand for CFCs in the US, where only completely new equipment produced after 1988 is originally suited to alternative coolants.

According to Miami customs officials, at least 22,410 tons of CFC coolants were smuggled into the US last year, and they believe there were more than that.

They expect another increase this year. Many of these shipments originate in India, Russia and Mexico, where they are still

produced, but a good many may be produced in the US for export and then diverted, laundered in the Lesser Antilles or in the Cayman Islands and smuggled back into the US.

The job of government agents in tracking these illegal shipments is not made any easier by the attitude of the Republican-controlled US Congress, whose leading members are pressing to rescind the terms of the Montreal Protocol and allow domestic production and use to continue at least until the year 2000.

To bolster their arguments, Congress has invited dissident scientists who hold the minority view that CFCs are probably not to blame for ozone depletion and that in any case "nature will repair the problem."

Just how far Congress will get with this stand is not yet clear, but in the meantime the smugglers are having a field day.

A 15-kilogram canister of CFCs, about the amount needed for a standard air-conditioning unit, can be purchased for \$70 in Europe or even less in Asia, but brings a sale price of \$242 on the US black market.

Scientists smell success for artificial nose

THERE'S a simple premise behind what Larry Myers does for a living: If you can smell it, you can find it.

Myers is the founder of Auburn University's Institute for Biological Detection Systems, an oddball assortment of veterinarians, chemists and physiologists chasing the ultimate in detection devices — an artificial nose.

For now, the subject of their research is little more than a stack of gleaming chips tucked away in a laboratory drawer.

But soon, such a tool could be hanging from the belts of police, arson investigators and food-safety inspectors.

"The technology that they're working on would suggest quite reasonably that, within three to five years, we'll have some workable sensors ready to use," says Robert C. Wilson, a veterinarian, pharmacologist and the institute's current director.

Such devices might find wide use in places that attract bomb-toting terrorists. Police could detect drugs, bodies and bombs stashed in cars, while food inspectors could easily test food and water for contamination.

The implications for revolutionary advances in public safety and the food industry are astounding. But so, too, are the possibilities for abuse: Such machines could determine whether a woman is ovulating, without a physical exam — or

even her knowledge. "The American way is to be uncomfortable with broad searches," says Glen Marx, a sociology professor who studies police surveillance from his office at the University of Colorado.

"One of the traditional protectors of American liberty is that it has been impossible to search everyone. That's getting not to be the case."

Myers founded the Auburn institute in 1989 with three missions in mind. He wanted to improve the ability of drug and bomb dogs to do their work. He wanted to expand science's understanding of the basic physiology of smell. And he wanted to use that knowledge to create an "artificial biosensor," what Myers calls a "nose on a chip."

Myers recently resigned from the institute to focus on his work with dogs. But he's still very much involved in the work on artificial biosensors at Auburn, where the approach is totally different from anything ever seen before.

Take, for instance, AromaScan. About 200 copies of the sensor have been sold to industries and researchers at about \$50,000 apiece.

It's a desktop machine based on a bank of conductive plastic chips sensitive to specific classes of chemicals, called volatiles, that evaporate into the air.

As air is sucked into the machine, chemicals pass over the sensor surfaces and produce changes in the electrical current flowing through them. Those current changes are logged into a computer attached to the system, and the unit is then programmed to recognize odors based on their electrical signatures.

The company that makes AromaScan boasts it "emulates the human nose." The Food and Drug Administration and university researchers who use it say that's not quite the case.

The machine does work in a limited way. It's good at picking out things that don't belong where they are — such as crude oil in fish exposed to spills.

But it just isn't sensitive or smart enough to figure out when food has begun to spoil, says Walter Staruszkiewicz, a research chemist in the FDA's seafood lab in Washington. That's because it focuses on

volatiles, not the organic compounds that arise when flesh decays.

"It technically has possibilities," Staruszkiewicz says. "But as things stand today, you're basically working in the dark. It's very much like looking at a snowstorm against a white sky and trying to see the flakes."

Researchers at Auburn want to abandon the plastic sensors in favor of proteins that trigger the animal's smell response.

When odors drift into an animal's nose, proteins sensitive to that smell trip a series of changes in what's called the olfactory bulb. Those changes release additional chemicals that travel to the brain and are interpreted as smell.

Auburn researchers have already proved that thin layers of such chemicals carried on metal chips can signal the presence of nearby compounds. The first sensors detected potassium, and

Myers says sensors for lead in water, among other things, would be easy enough to make.

Now the trick is to learn more about how animals identify odors, isolate additional smell-sensitive chemicals and figure out ways of putting them onto chips.

By using biological compounds — cloned odor receptors, odor-sensitive mucus, and proteins that set off the smell reaction — the researchers hope to get past the background interference that plagues today's smell detectors.

They also expect to load a single fingernail-size chip with thousands of odor receptors, enough to create a sensor that's nearly as sensitive as a dog's nose, Myers says.

Wilson isn't so sure. "We're not ready for a competition with the dogs," he says. And when that day comes, "being a veterinarian, I suspect the dogs might win anyway." (AF)



And I Shall Dwell Among Them Historic Synagogues of the World

Photographs and commentary by Neil Folberg

For the last three years Neil Folberg, a former student of Ansel Adams, has travelled the world, visiting Jewish communities past and present and photographing both grand-scale and modest synagogues, in places ranging from India to the Czech Republic, to Israel, the American South and the Caribbean. An essay by Yom Tov Assis focuses on the social and cultural history of the Jews, and Neil Folberg's first-person account of his photographs accompanies each of the chapters, which are divided into geographic regions. A superb full color album, it provides a vibrant window onto the Jewish cultural past.

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BUSINESS & FINANCE

Monday, April 29, 1996

CEO quits La Nationale after poor '95

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

LA NATIONALE general manager Dr. Moshe Perog submitted his resignation at the end of last week following the insurance company's heavy losses in 1995. La Nationale will publish its net results for 1995 today, the last day a company is allowed to publish its annual results according to the Securities Authorities regulations. Industry sources expect the firm to announce a net loss of about NIS 170m. for 1995 and a fourth quarter net loss of NIS 100m. The board rejected Perog's proposal to sell the firm to one of the economy's large conglomerates. Perog, who will quit at month's end, could not be reached for comment. La Nationale chairman Bar Cochva Ben Gera will take over. He is also general manager of Hadar Insurance, La Nationale's parent company. It is not certain if Perog will keep his 10-percent stake in the firm. Insurance sources said the losses are expected to erode La

Nationale's shareholders capital to NIS 30m. The losses are mainly due to the cancellation of kibbutz life insurance policies and the payment of large fines to subcontractors as a result of delays in premium payments. At the end of last week, Hadar's board of directors agreed to increase La Nationale's shareholders capital by NIS 20m. in an attempt to enable the company to meet the minimum shareholders capital requirements set by the supervisor of insurance. Hadar also reportedly plans to publish a profile through which La Nationale's shareholders will be able to maintain their voting rights in the company by investing additional capital.

Northern residents want NIS 2.3b. in aid

JENNIFER FRIEDLIN and GALIT LIPKIS BECK

INDUSTRIALISTS and government officials yesterday estimated the direct damage inflicted on businesses and individuals in the North at some NIS 200 million, while local leaders demanded the government launch reconstruction programs to the tune of NIS 2.3 billion. The Manufacturers Association appealed to the Finance Ministry and the Income Tax Authorities to help industrial firms in the North that have incurred direct and indirect damages of about NIS 100m. The Income and Property Tax Commission, meanwhile, estimated that at least an additional NIS 100m. was lost by small businesses and home owners. The manufacturers reported 100 firms, employing about 11,000 workers, were forced to close during the 17-day operation, and three factories were hit by Katyushas. Leaders of municipalities and regional councils, who met in Kiryat Shmona with Finance Minister Avraham Sbnhat, demanded the government exempt that city from property taxes, a 75 percent exemption for other settlements along the Lebanese border, budget-deficit

financing by the Interior Ministry, and NIS 800m. in road construction. Manufacturers Association managing director Yoram Belizovsky has asked the Finance Ministry and Income Tax Authorities to quickly assist the firms. He recommended that the Income Tax Authorities send property tax appraisers to the factories and called on the Treasury to shorten the time period factories must wait for compensation. The association has also requested that the Treasury compensate companies for salaries, similar to the compensation given to workers on reserve duty. The association emphasized that the Treasury does not give full compensation to workers. For example, they will not be compensated for overtime and other special payments. Prior to heading North for a two-day tour of the area, Shohat said he will use money from the existing budget to pay for the damage and "will do his best" not

to impose new taxes. The Income Tax Commission has so far paid NIS 6m. in compensation. The authority received more than 700 claims in the first few hours after opening claims centers in Kiryat Shmona and Nahariya yesterday morning. In the final day of fighting alone, more than 100 apartments were damaged, bringing the total number to 1,450. In the first stage of its program, the Treasury will compensate people for property damage and will later offer payment to those who lost income as a result of not being able to work during the operation. Although he decided not to cancel the property taxes for Kiryat Shmona residents, Shohat said the government has marked the city as a preferred industrial area, and Prime Minister Shimon Peres said he will encourage state companies to purchase goods from factories in Kiryat Shmona by granting companies an exemption from the bidding process. Income Tax Commissioner Doron Levy announced that residents of cities in the confrontation area will have until May 15 to file income tax payments for March.

BUSINESS BRIEFS

"Smart cards" that are electronically "filled" with money credits will probably take over for Telecards, Bezeq officials predicted yesterday. Nevertheless, Bezeq launched its new telephone card marking the 3,000th anniversary of Jerusalem's becoming David's capital in a ceremony at Bezeq headquarters attended by Mayor Ehud Olmert. The 120-phone unit card was designed by Sharon Murro with help from her father Haim Murro, who - ironically - was for years the manufacturer of Bezeq's now-obsolete phone tokens (asimolim). *Judy Siegel*

An agreement arranging the transfer of employees from Bezeq to its nascent subsidiaries has been reached between company management and the workers' new representatives. The accord allows Bezeq to go ahead quickly with its subsidiaries, which must compete with the private market. Since the daughter companies are fully owned by Bezeq, workers can more easily be transferred from one company to another. *Judy Siegel*

UN parley begins here: The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) begins its annual meeting in Tel Aviv today, after having earlier considered canceling it due to the hostilities in the North. *Jerusalem Post Staff*

Net profit increases at Avner Insurance

GALIT LIPKIS BECK

AVNER Insurance, the company which compensates automobile accident victims, completed the year with an increase in net profit to NIS 34.29 million from NIS 23.82m. in 1994. The improved earnings come after many years in which the company reported large annual losses. The consortium's accumulated deficit decreased to NIS 750m. from about NIS 1b. at the end of 1994. Key factors which contributed to the higher earnings included a growth in premium payments to NIS 1.55 billion from NIS 1.32b., primarily due to a rise in tariffs, and growth in number of cars on the road. Total revenues increased to NIS

1.67b. from NIS 1.33b. while total claims rose to NIS 1.4b. from NIS 1.2b. The company's total expenses rose to NIS 58.6m. from NIS 49.3m., despite implementation of efficiency measures. According to Avner's contract with insurance firms, it pays automobile accident victims compensation of 70%, while the insurance firms pay 30% of the cost. But Eiyahu Insurance, which was involved in a legal conflict with Avner at the start of the year, has decided to cut all relations with the consortium. Eiyahu announced yesterday that as of next year it will independently incur the compensation costs for its automobile accident victims.

Panel approves banking bill amendment

EVELYN GORDON

THE Knesset Finance Committee yesterday approved the hard core of the Brodet Committee recommendations to cut and cap the banks' holdings of real assets, and plans to send the bill to the plenum for its final reading next week. Because it did not have time to finish the entire bill by the end of the current Knesset session, it split the bill into two parts. Those parts necessary to implement the Brodet recommendations were passed yesterday, except for one clause which it will finish up tomorrow. However, all amendments not directly related to the Brodet report were killed due to the lack of time. If the government wants them passed, it can reintroduce

them in a separate bill next Knesset session, said committee chairman Gedalya Gal (Labor). The bill states that banks must reduce real assets to a maximum of 20 percent of their equity by the year 2000. In 2001, the maximum percentage will be reduced to 18%, and in 2002 to 16%. In addition, banks will not be able to build a controlling stake in more than one major holding company. The latter is defined as a firm with an equity of more than NIS 1.25 billion, and with investments of more than NIS 12.5m. in three or more economic sectors. The committee changed the bill before approving it. One of the



most significant was the elimination of a clause requiring mutual funds controlled by the banks to ensure that outside directors have a majority on the funds' investment committees. However, the committee retained the clause, saying such funds' votes in shareholders' meetings must be determined by the outside directors. The committee also decided that business promotion banks would be allowed to control start-ups for up to six years, and the state can put conditions on the resale of assets sold as a result of the bill. The one clause still under debate is one that would forbid banks to hold less than a controlling stake in another bank or financial institution.

Indigo to unveil restructuring plan today

JENNIFER FRIEDLIN


INDIGO, the beleaguered digital printing firm that was hailed as a market phenomenon only last summer, is expected to announce a drastic restructuring program today. The Dutch-based company, which has research and development and manufacturing facilities in Rehovot, is expected to fire some 300 employees, about one-third of the company's staff, industry sources said. The company spokesman refused to comment. As recently as last August,

Indigo founder Benny Landa appeared on the cover of *BusinessWeek*, which featured his company as one of a handful of highly successful Israeli firms to make it onto the international high-tech stage. At the time the article was published, shares in Indigo, which went public on Nasdaq in 1994, had just fallen to \$45 after hitting a high of more than \$60 earlier that month. The retreat, following reports of second-quarter losses, put Indigo in a more realistic position, the article said. But the losing trend persisted, and the company's stock plummeted until bottoming out at \$7 per share, before the stock recently started recovering. On Friday, the last day of trading, Indigo's stock closed at \$16. After incurring losses of between \$40m-\$50m. in 1995, the company's market value dropped from a high of \$3.3b. to a current \$800m. Industry sources said the current growing pains do not necessarily signify stunted growth and expect that the company - which has worked on projects with such companies as AT&T, 3M and Japan's Toppan Printing Co. Group - will rebound.

THE ECONOMIC FORUM

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Those intending to participate in the Forum are requested to fill out the following form:

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Greater mark (DM 200,000)	3.750	3.750	3.750	
Swiss franc (SF 200,000)	0.375	0.375	0.625	
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German mark	2.0548	2.0973	2.02	2.13
Port. sterling	4.7048	4.8412	4.06	4.01
French franc	0.8117	0.8216	0.80	0.84
Japanese yen (100)	2.9468	2.9971	2.99	3.04
Dutch guilder	1.8464	1.8791	1.82	1.84
Swiss franc	2.5348	2.5961	2.51	2.54
Swedish krona	0.4994	0.4740	0.45	0.48
Norwegian krona	0.4928	0.4807	0.47	0.48
Danish krona	0.5554	0.5441	0.52	0.53
Finnish mark	0.6527	0.6533	0.64	0.66
Canadian dollar	2.5980	2.5463	2.56	2.58
Australian dollar	2.4778	2.5179	2.43	2.56
S. African rand	0.7204	0.7321	0.65	0.74
Belgian franc (10)	1.0040	1.0232	0.98	1.04
Austrian schilling (10)	2.5841	2.5915	2.58	2.59
Italian lire (1000)	2.0233	2.0582	1.98	2.08
Jordanian dinar	—	—	4.39	4.39
Spanish peseta	—	—	0.80	0.97
EU	3.8864	3.8401	—	3.8779
Irish punt	4.9148	4.9842	4.83	5.07
Spanish peseta (100)	2.488	2.5971	2.44	2.57
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BEZEQ. The Israel Telecommunications Corp. Ltd.

Bids are invited for the supply of the following goods:
Tender No. 82/96/001/0
Purification and Verification System for the Bezeq Local Net
 Bezeq invites bids for the design, development, production, operation and maintenance of a purification and verification system for the Bezeq local net.

The following general conditions apply:

- Pre-conditions:
 - Parties submitting bids must comply with all laws, including the requirement to keep account books, be an authorized trader, hold valid licenses to trade, and comply with all relevant standard specifications.
 - Willingness to provide a guarantee, as explained in the tender documents.
 - Compliance with the "minimum" conditions, given in the tender documents.
- The tender documents can be obtained from the Tenders and Ordering Department of the Purchasing Division, 15 Rehov Hatzvi, Jerusalem (Room 609) Tel. 02-595614/5, between 9 a.m. and 12 noon, Sunday to Thursday. The tender documents will be provided on submitting a receipt of payment for NIS 1,000.
 - In Israel, payment should be made into Bezeq's Postal Bank account no. 5-311757.
 - Overseas suppliers should make payment into Bezeq's account no. 12-901-97833/64, at the Jerusalem main branch of Bank Leumi, Leisrael.

Before receiving the tender documents, the prospective bidder will be required to sign an undertaking that he will keep the information contained therein secret - detail are obtainable by calling the above phone number.

The fee for the tender documents is non-refundable. The receipt, with details of your company, and authorized trader's number may be faxed to 972-2-578113. Please phone afterwards (phone numbers as above), to obtain confirmation of receipt of the fee.

5. Bids should be placed in the tenders box at 15 Rehov Hatzvi, Jerusalem, not later than June 18, 1996, at 6 p.m.

6. No undertaking is given to accept the lowest or any bid, or to order the entire work from one source.

Bids sent by fax or telegram will not be considered.

Handwritten note: 10/10/1500

Politicians, union leaders criticize Bonn's savings plan

FRANKFURT (Reuters) - German politicians and union leaders over the weekend lashed out at Chancellor Helmut Kohl's controversial savings package...

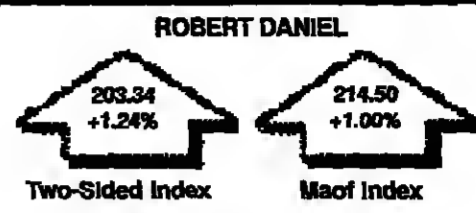
in the Solidarity Surcharge on income tax, a 20 percent cut in sick pay, a delay in a child benefit rise, no pay rise for civil servants...

families were delayed. Even Bundestag President Rita Süssmuth, a member of Kohl's Christian Democrats, told oews-magazine Focus "the pensionable age for women is raised, but disadvantages for women are kept or are being newly strengthened."

ers union DGB complained plans to pare back legal protection against being fired would not help create more jobs but would merely let Germany keep pace with US practices of "hiring and firing workers."

Shares follow NY upwards

TEL AVIV STOCK MARKET



STOCKS rose for a third day yesterday on optimism that interest rates will stay steady and on trading of shares listed both in Tel Aviv and New York.

February and January, brings annual inflation to 10 to about 12%. That exceeds both 1995's 8.1% inflation and this year's government-set target of 8% to 10%.

Many investors are expecting that last Sunday's rate boost by the central bank is "the last increase for some time," said Moshe Jonas, manager of the Jerusalem office of the securities firm Moritz and Tuchler.

Jonas and other traders and investors are hoping for what they call a package deal, involving government budget cuts to reduce domestic demand, a devaluation of the shekel against the US dollar to boost exports, and interest rate cuts from the central bank.

Precious metals suffer losses

NEW YORK precious metals futures suffered losses on Friday, as commodity funds were seen liquidating long positions, established during Thursday's rally.

Analysts said the metals markets have been following the progress of the grains and CRB markets closely, due to the perception that higher commodity prices are inflationary, which should provide support to the metals complex.

On the close, June gold was down 3.1 at \$392.20 per ounce. May silver closed \$10.03 cents lower at \$5.262 per ounce.

July platinum was down 3.7 at \$405.40 per ounce, while June palladium ended 4.8 lower at \$132.20 an ounce.

Chicago high grade copper futures finished in negative territory on Friday, but near the top of the day's trading range. Rollover activity from the May contract into the July pressured the market, sources said.

Traders also noted technical factors which affected the market, such as profit-taking and a decline in LME stocks. The May copper futures contract closed 65 points lower at \$1.2235 per pound.

After a volatile day of trade, the May wheat and corn futures closed sharply higher on Friday. May corn futures surged to a record high on dwindling stocks of US corn and a relentless aggressive export sales pace, traders said.

Tight stocks of wheat and prospects for no deliveries boosted CBOT May wheat to a new contract high on Friday. The May wheat contract closed up 20 cents per bushel to \$7.1612 a bushel.

Chicago soy futures closed lower on Friday, pressured by the mixed grain trade. Sources said fund selling and skittish trade in the corn and wheat gave the soybeans little support and a lack of fresh news also offered little direction.

The July soybean futures contract closed 41.4 cents lower at \$3.2675 per bushel.

Diving rand tests new South Africa

JOHANNESBURG (Reuters) - The new South Africa, two years old this weekend, faces key tests on all fronts from solving the politically charged murder of a Zulu princess to curbing a planned general strike's impact on the diving rand.

The honeymoon period following 1994's historic all-race elections on April 26-29 seems truly over, but President Nelson Mandela barely had time to mark the anniversary of the end of white rule over the black majority.

He hastily called talks yesterday with union and big business leaders to try to find a way to shore up the rand, whose descent against the dollar since February was accelerated by plans for a national strike tomorrow.

The ANC has blamed Inkatha supporters for last week's attack on a royal palace, where Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's niece died and one of his five queens and a daughter were stabbed, hacked and shot.

On whether to go ahead with May 29 local elections in the violent Zulu heartland, where a gang's murder of a princess has raised tensions.

Mandela's African National Congress wants the election, originally due last November, put off again. It says political killings and intimidation make a fair vote impossible in the KwaZulu-Natal province the rival Inkatha Freedom Party controls.

The ANC has blamed Inkatha supporters for last week's attack on a royal palace, where Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's niece died and one of his five queens and a daughter were stabbed, hacked and shot.

They are seriously wounded in hospital. Inkatha leader Buthelezi Mangosuthu fell out with his nephew the king after the 1994 elections and accuses him of favoring Mandela.

Zwelithini has said for months he feared assassination. Despite all his economic and political woes, 77-year-old Mandela exuded optimism when he briefly marked Saturday's holiday at a color parade in the capital Pretoria.

"Freedom Day comes at a time when we are making progress on all fronts to build South Africa into a land of our dreams," he told the crowds.

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Britain battles to ease EU beef ban

BRUSSELS (Reuters) Britain is set for a long struggle today to persuade skeptical European Union partners that its plans for extra measures to curb Mad Cow disease justify easing a worldwide ban on British beef exports.

The lack of prior warning and Britain's apparent failure to enforce a ban imposed in 1989 on feeding sheep and other animal waste to cattle - widely seen as the cause of BSE - were also criticized.

at a two-day meeting of EU farm ministers in Luxembourg, British Agriculture Minister Douglas Hogg is due to present detailed proposals for tracing and slaughtering some 42,000 animals most at risk to the fatal cattle brain disease.

Britain has stressed it will implement further measures to combat Mad Cow disease if there is a clear commitment from the EU to lift the ban speedily. EU member states have said Britain must first take further radical measures.

"We hope for some modest relaxation of the ban," said a British official, noting that scientific experts have advised that certain beef products, such as gelatin and pharmaceuticals - are safe.

It's a question of who blinks first," said one source. "The two things are indissolubly linked," a British official stressed, noting that about a dozen steps have been taken to curb the disease since an emergency farm council to tackle the Mad Cow crisis on April 1-3.

The ban was imposed on March 27 to restore consumer confidence after Britain announced a week earlier that Mad Cow disease could spread to humans.

These include a scheme to slaughter weekly 15,000 older dairy cows, which have ended their productive life, and ensure that they are not processed into pies or other food.

British agriculture officials were locked in intensive talks over the weekend with the EU's executive Commission to clarify the new British measures.

Hogg was due to meet EU Farm Commissioner Franz Fischler today before the ministerial meeting.

"It's still very cloudy at the moment," a British official said, referring to prospects for lifting the ban.

EU officials said member states were angry that the British government's sudden announcement last month that Mad Cow disease or Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy (BSE), could spread to humans sparked consumer panic across the the continent and led to the collapse of beef sales.

Table titled 'TEL AVIV STOCKS' with columns for Name, Price, Change, % Change, Volume, and Volume Change. It lists various stocks and their performance metrics.

China visit for Taiwanese tax officials, bankers

TAIPEI (Reuters) - A group of top Taiwanese tax officials and bankers has begun a private visit to China to meet counterparts, the China Times Express reported yesterday.

Former deputy finance minister Pai Pei-ying, currently Taiwan's International Commercial Bank of China chairman, led the group of more than 10 people from government tax offices and private banks, the newspaper said.

During its visits to Beijing and Hangzhou, the group will meet its counterparts, including high-level Chinese officials, to discuss tax issues. The paper did not specify the issues to be discussed.

Separately, the newspaper quoted Lin Chien-hsiung, director of the ministry's Department of National Treasury, as saying China had expressed willingness to sign a pact to avoid double-taxation on Taiwanese businessmen on the mainland.

PRIME Mutual Fund for Foreign Residents. Includes purchase price of 108.24, redemption price of 107.59, and target unit price of 148.29.

